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THE
LITERARY
HISTORY OF GALLOWAY.

BY
THOMAS MURRAY, A. M.

*Paullum sepultæ distat inertia
Celata virtus.—Hor.*

SECOND EDITION.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR WAUGH AND INNES;
W. CURRY, JUN. & CO. DUBLIN; AND WHITTAKER & CO.
LONDON.
M.DCCC.XXXII.

EDINBURGH :

PRINTED BY A. BALFOUR AND CO. NIDDRY STREET.

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To James Thomson Esq. Craig St.

from the Author.

TO

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

LADY ANNE MURRAY

of Broughton,

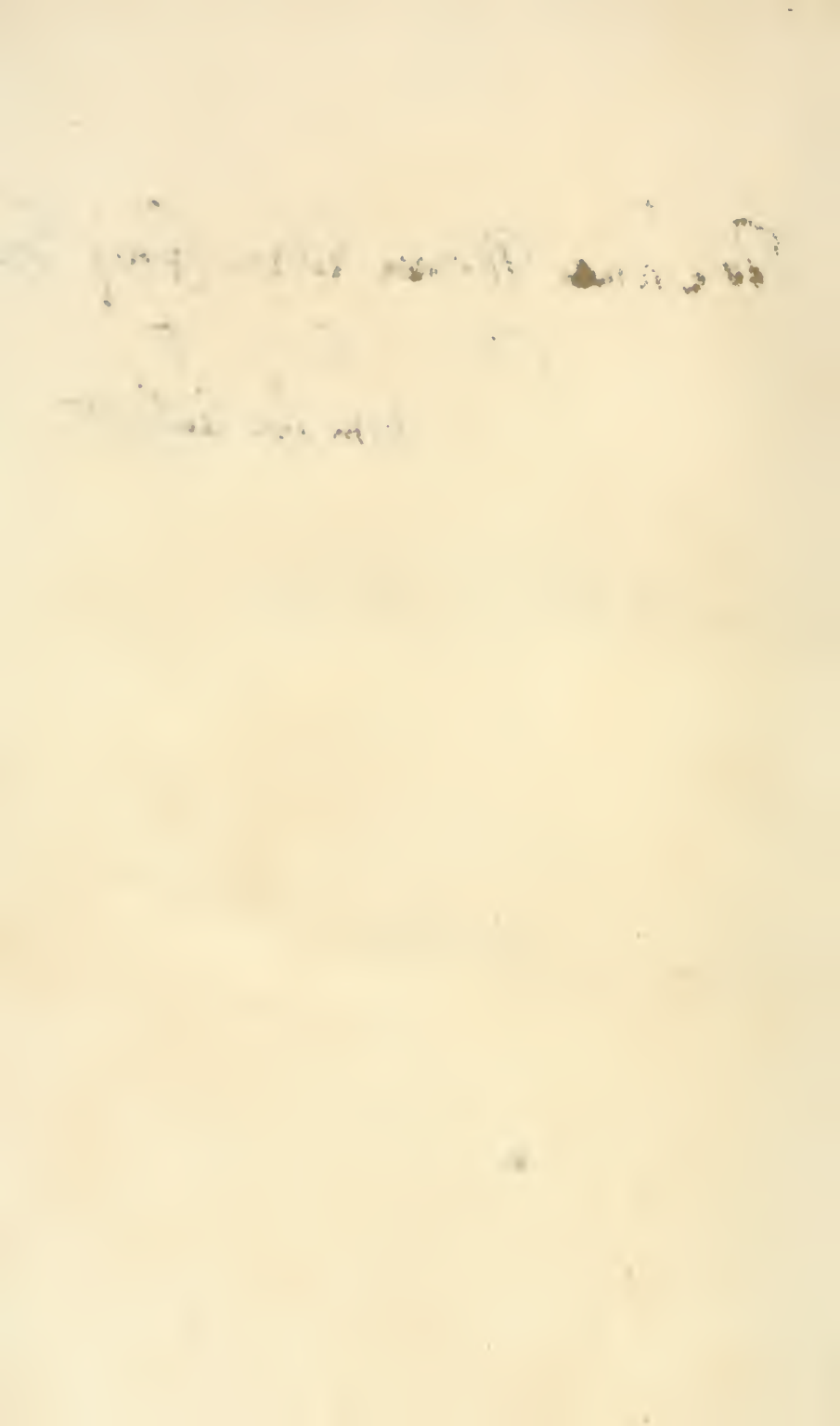
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P R E F A C E.

OF *The Literary History of Galloway*, which first appeared in 1822, a new impression is now presented to the public. The extraneous matter, which the original work embraced, has been omitted; much extravagance, in regard both to sentiment and diction, has been corrected; and the whole has undergone a thorough revisal. Nor is this all: Nineteen new articles, of which sixteen are altogether original, have been added; and the present volume may be considered rather as a new work than as the republication of one already before the world. Its execution is not, I am aware, worthy of the important materials of which it is composed; yet I flatter myself, that, with all its imperfections, it will be regarded as constituting some addition, however slight, to the biographical literature of Scotland.

Of the numerous *Lives* which the volume includes, the subjects of several were but slightly connected with Galloway. I allude, in particular, to

Lord Stair. But as no account of this distinguished lawyer has hitherto been given to the world,—a circumstance which I regard as not honourable to our Scots bar,—I availed myself of his casual connexion with the province in question to obey an impulse which it would have been difficult for me to restrain. Had my limits admitted, I should have had much pleasure in extending the notices I have given of this illustrious person.

County Literary History I consider as of great importance. Without such a classification of biographical articles, the personal history of many individuals, who have been benefactors to their country, or deserved well of the republic of letters, would soon be forgotten, or but partially known. A work, such as the present, prevents, so far as its locality extends, this result, much to be regretted, from taking place. And if Scotland, divided into counties, or larger districts, were possessed of a series of similar productions, she would be distinguished by a fulness and minuteness of Literary History, of which no other country can boast.

I cannot close this preface without mentioning, in terms of becoming gratitude, the facilities which, on all occasions, have been so liberally afforded me by every person to whom I found it necessary to apply for information: a circumstance that rendered my researches a work, not of toil, but of pleasure.

To the Rev. Dr. Andrew Brown of this city, whose acquaintance with American history is well known, I have been indebted for a perusal of the numerous pamphlets, (all of them rare,) relative to the settlement formed by Lord Selkirk on the Red River, North America.

Since [that part of my History, which contains *The Life of Robert Maxwell of Arkland*, was printed, I have learned, from a most respectable source, that that eminent person had been bred a writer in Edinburgh; and that he lived some time in that city in the profession of the law. He must, it is probable, have relinquished that profession, either when he entered on his extensive farming operations at Clifton-Hall, or soon after that time, as he seems subsequently to have devoted his life to the enthusiastic cultivation, both practically and theoretically, of agricultural science.

ALBANY STREET, EDINBURGH,
26th December 1831.



THE
LITERARY HISTORY
OF
GALLOWAY.

CHAPTER I.

DRUIDISM—LIFE OF ST. NINIAN.

THE progress of nations in literature and refinement is generally slow. From various causes, GALLOWAY,* as well as the other districts of Scotland, remained long sunk in ignorance and barbarism. At the time of the invasion of the Romans, the south of Britain could boast of the Druids, a religious class of men, comparatively enlightened.† That the Druidical system had ever extended to Scotland, it would be difficult to show. That it was of Celtic origin, and professed by all Celtic tribes, is a position which, though often repeated, none has succeeded in establishing. If this point could be indisputably ascertained, it is obvious, that no other argument would be requisite to prove the existence of Druidism in Scotland, the original inhabitants of that country being undoubtedly of Celtic derivation.‡ Cæsar, however, decidedly affirms,

* *Appendix, Note A.*

† *Neque fas esse existimant ea literis mandare, quoniam in reliquis fere rebus, publicis privatisque rationibus, Græcis literis utantur. Cæsar de Bello Gallico, vi. xiv.*

‡ *Appendix, Note B.*

that it had its origin in Britain, and was thence translated to Gaul. And, in corroboration of this statement, he mentions, that those who wished to become acquainted with its forms and mysteries, were under the necessity of going to Britain to be instructed. This opinion, it is evident, is not a conjecture of Cæsar; it is the opinion of the Gallic Druids, from whom he obtained his information. And as of all the early writers on this subject, he undoubtedly possessed the most accurate and minute intelligence; and as his account of the origin of Druidism has never been disputed by any ancient author, it is absurd to conclude, in the face of such satisfactory evidence, that this system was radically Celtic, and co-extensive with the wanderings of that celebrated people. "Since it must have begun to exist after the Celts left their original settlements, it must be considered as British, not Celtic; and it would be as absurd to extend it to all the Celts, because it originated among them, as it would be to expect to find the institutions of secret tribunals, in the thirteenth century, among the Swedes, as well as among the Germans, merely because they were both Gothic nations."*

As it cannot, therefore, be proved that Druidism was the religion of all the Celtic nations, we have no authority for extending it to any district of Scotland. We may, indeed, conclude, from the statement of Cæsar, that it was known only in the south of Britain and in France. Besides, no early writer mentions that this cruel superstition was even professed by our ancestors; and on the authority of early writers alone can this question be determined. Tacitus relates, that Suetonius Paulinus, after having vanquished the Britons on Mona, † cut down and destroyed the consecrated groves of the Druids. ‡ The same author, however, in writing the history of the campaign of Agricola in Scotland, never once alludes to this order of men. And as the Druidical ceremonies were so singular, and so deserving of attention, both in a religious and political

* *Edinburgh Review* for July 1801.

† Anglesea.

‡ *Taciti Annales*, xiv. xxx.

point of view, it would be impossible to account for the silence of Tacitus respecting them, if they had been really established in the country which he describes. Negative evidence is nearly all we can obtain on this subject, and we hold the preceding as an irrefragable argument in our favour.

The well known circles of stones have been uniformly appealed to by the promoters of the opposite theory as an indubitable proof that Druidism had existed in the countries where such remains are to be found ; and Mr. Chalmers, the celebrated author of *Caledonia*, rests nearly the whole merits of the question on this argument. Those who have studied the subject impartially, know that this position is assumed ; and we may confidently challenge our opponents to produce one single authority in support of it. Cæsar, whose account of the Druids is so full and explicit, makes no mention of these buildings ; and Tacitus, while he relates that the sacred groves of the Druids were destroyed, is silent with regard to these stone monuments.* And as it evidently appears to have been the intention of Suetonius to exterminate, if possible, the religion of the Druids, certainly, if temples had formed any part of their institution, he would have destroyed them, as well as cut down the groves. These circles of stone might have been erected for purposes different from those of religious worship ; and Mr. Chalmers confesses that similar edifices of stone designate the places of ancient political and judicial assemblies. It is evident, indeed, that such temples were used by Gothic nations for the purposes either of religion or judicature, and are to be found in districts in which, it is allowed, Druidism was never known. “ Stone monuments, nearly similar in form, and equal in magnitude to those which are said to be most unequivocally Druidical, exist in countries into which, according to the opinion of all antiquarians, the Celts never penetrated. In many parts of the north of Germany, in the island of Zealand, and in Iceland, the stone monuments are similar in form, and seem to have been erected for the same

* Chalmers' *Caledonia*, i. 1.

purpose with those in Britain and France.”* “For Druidic antiquities,” says Dr. Irving, “it would be in vain to search; instead of temples and other edifices, they consecrated the mistletoe, and the oak on which it grew.”† This opinion is not a modern conjecture, for it has been handed down to us since the days of Pliny.‡ The worship in groves, indeed, and the veneration paid to the mistletoe of the oak, are the distinguishing features of the Druidical mythology. These are uniformly mentioned by early writers, without any reference to stone edifices; and as groves were used by the Druids instead of temples, and as their victims were immolated on the oak, it is necessary to conclude that they erected no buildings or altars of stone.

To Druidism, then, Galloway owes no obligations. Nor do I think she is much indebted to her Roman invaders; for though, as Dr. Irving remarks, “the conquests of that warlike but civilized and ingenious people, were not more fatal to pride and independence than conducive to the dissemination of useful knowledge;”§ yet we have no evidence that the Romans ever established colonies in this province, or formed any very intimate connexion with its inhabitants. The Galwegians, it is probable, were indebted for nearly the first rudiments of liberal knowledge to the diffusion of the Christian religion; an event which took place as early at least as the beginning of the fifth century. According to some writers, Scotland was converted to Christianity a considerable time before this period; and it is expressly stated by Ailred, that the sovereign of that province, now known by the name of Galloway, (father to the illustrious Ninian of whom we are about to speak), embraced the doctrines of the gospel about the middle of the fourth century.|| These assertions, however, are not entitled to unqualified credit; and, indeed, it is not improbable, from the

* *Ed. Rev. ut supra.* † Irving's *Lives of Scottish Poets*, i. 4.

‡ *Nihil habent Druidæ, ita enim appellant suos Magos, visco et arbore in qua signatur, si modo sit robur, sacratius.* Plinii *Nat. Historia*, xvi. 95.

§ Irving's *Lives*, i. 2.

|| *Niniani Vita ab Ailredo*, edit. Pinkerton, Lond. 1789.

decided testimony of Bede, the earliest writer on this subject, that the region of which we are treating was not freed from idolatry and heathenism until the time of St. Ninian, bishop of Candida Casa.*

Of this celebrated ecclesiastic little can now be known. His life, indeed, has been written by Ailred; but Ailred lived in the middle of the twelfth century, above six hundred years after the death of him whose history he professed to trace. His work, then, though its merits in other respects were much higher than they are, cannot be regarded as very accurate or authentic; but the ignorance or credulity of Ailred, no subsequent learning and research have been able to detect or remove.†

NINIAN, as above hinted, was descended of royal parentage, and born, it is supposed, near Leucophibia, the site of the present Whithorn, in the year three hundred and sixty.‡ Of his early history, and the nature of his education, we must be content to remain ignorant; but we are informed, that, after having been ordained, at Rome, bishop of the Britons, and instructed in monastic discipline by his relation St. Martin of Tours, he returned to his native country about the end of the fourth, or beginning of the fifth century, and devoted the remainder of a long life to the zealous dissemination of the doctrines of the gospel. He erected a church at Leucophibia, which is emphatically mentioned by Bede as the first built of stone, and as obtaining from this circumstance the appropriate name of Candida Casa.§ This church he dedicated to

* *Bede Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, iii. iv.

† The work of Ailred, who was Abbot of Rievall in Yorkshire, has been published by the late Mr. Pinkerton, and forms the first article of a curious collection of ancient biography, entitled, *Vitæ Antiquæ Sanctorum qui habitaverunt in ea parte Britannicæ nunc vocata Scotia, vel in ejus Insulis. Quasdam edidit ex MSS. quasdam collegit Johannes Pinkerton, qui et Variantes Lectiones et notas pauculas adjecit.* London, 1789, 8vo.

‡ *Niniani Vita. Caledonia*, i. 315.

§ *Bede Historia, ut supra.* It has been conjectured that Leucophibia and Candida Casa are equivalent terms, the former being merely a corruption of the Greek λευκὴ ὀκιδία; Camden's *Britannia*, 740.

St. Martin, not as the saint of the place, but as a mark of respect to his memory, (for he was now dead,) and to preserve the remembrance of his virtues. The bishoprick of Candida Casa is regarded by Mr. Pinkerton as the oldest in Scotland.*

The assertion of Mr. Chalmers, that Ninian founded a monastery at Candida Casa, is not devoid of probability. Monasteries, as shall be afterwards shown, had been instituted for more than a century before the period at which we are arrived; and Ninian, as mentioned above, had undoubtedly been instructed in the nature and discipline of these establishments, by St. Martin of Tours. But though the opinion of Mr. Chalmers be allowed to be correct, the monastery of Candida Casa, amid the distractions of war, and from a paucity of ecclesiastics, must soon have fallen into decay. Nor was it revived till the days of Fergus, lord of Galloway, in the middle of the twelfth century.

Ninian did not confine his labours to Galloway. We are informed that he went to convert the Picts who lived south of the Grampian Hills;† but of the result of this pious expedition we have no certain intelligence. To this portion of his history, Ailred devotes but a single page; though, as Mr. Pinkerton remarks, it forms the most important part of his life.‡ This omission, however, we have no great reason to regret; for his success, we may readily suppose, could not have been very extraordinary. Men, in every age, have shown a deep-rooted attachment to the religious opinions which their forefathers entertained, and in which they themselves were educated; and nothing has been found more difficult than to effect a revolution in the theological discipline and doctrine of a nation. This inveterate prejudice Ninian had to encounter in his labours among the Picts; for notwithstanding his characteristic zeal and perseverance, the greater part of this celebrated people remained unconverted till the time of St. Columba, when the king and nobility having abjured paganism, and

* Pinkerton's *Inquiry*, ii. 268.

† Bede and Ailred, *ut supra*.

‡ Pinkerton's *Inquiry*, i. 74. Ailred, c. xi.—*Userii Brit. Eccl. Antiq.* 662—5.

received baptism from the Saint, the whole population were at once induced to follow so illustrious an example.

That Ninian, in his visit to the Picts, ordained presbyters, consecrated bishops, and divided the country into parishes, is an assertion undeserving of unqualified belief.* That he consecrated persons to the holy ministry of the gospel, is exceedingly probable; but that he established parishes, in the proper acceptation of that word, either among the Picts, or among his own flock in Galloway, is absurd or impossible. The erection of parishes, indeed, was purely an ecclesiastical regulation; but that it was effected by Ninian, is disproved by the circumstances, that the number of preachers, (all of whom it is probable he himself had educated in his monastery of Candida Casa,) were then necessarily small, and that, as just mentioned, the Picts at least, whatever was the case with his Gallowegian flock, did not receive the word of God gladly.—At what period parishes were established, it would now be in vain to inquire. It could not have taken place till the Christian system had been generally received, and its preachers become numerous; and as this division, and the necessary previous ecclesiastical establishments infer no inconsiderable degree of refinement and political knowledge, it is highly probable that the arrangement in question did not take place before the ninth or tenth century. Mr. Chalmers supposes that parishes were gradually formed after the year 843; but that they existed in the time of Malcolm III., who died in 1093, is ascertained by authentic records.† In the reigns immediately subsequent, tythes and ecclesiastical dues are mentioned, as if they were familiarly known and had been long established.‡

It is improper to term Ninian bishop of the Picts, though he went to convert them. Galloway formed the great scene of his benevolent exertions; its inhabitants were then Celts; nor

* Ailred and Usher, *ut supra*.

† *Caledonia*, i. 432.

‡ Dugdale's *Monasticon*, i. 399.—Connel on *Tythes*, i. 8.

were the Piets known in this province till after the abdication of the Anglo-Saxons in the beginning of the ninth century.*

Usher mentions a tradition, that on account of frequent and inconvenient visits from his mother and relations, St. Ninian left Whithorn and retired to Ireland; that he obtained from the king a fit and pleasant place called Cluayn-Coner, where he founded a magnificent monastery; and that, after many years residence, he died in that country.† This tradition is evidently unfounded in truth. It is allowed, on all hands, that he died and was buried in Whithorn;‡ and no fact in history is better known, than that his tomb there was visited by pilgrims for ten centuries after his death.§ Besides, that this “very reverend and holy” saint, (to use the words of Bede), forsook an establishment which himself had reared, and which must have been endeared to him by many charms and associations, merely on account of unseasonable visits from his mother and friends, is abundantly improbable and ludicrous.

After a life spent in promoting the most valuable interests of mankind; after introducing his countrymen to a knowledge of God and his gospel, he died on the sixteenth day of September 432, at the advanced age of seventy-two.|| The anniversary of his death was long observed in remembrance of a prelate who had devoted his days to promote the best interests of his species.

From the narrow-mindedness and superstition of his age, St. Ninian was not free. That he laid claim to the power of working miracles, has been asserted by all his biographers, and has made him the object of much abuse and illiberality.¶ Whether he did really put forth such a claim, or whether this distinction has been gratuitously conferred on him by posterity, we need not inquire, though the latter supposition is by no

* *Caledonia*, i. 357. † *Userii Britt. Eccles. Antiquitates*, 1059.

‡ *Sepultus est in ecclesia beati Martini quam ipse a fundamento construxerat, positusque in sarcophago lapideo juxta altare. Ailred. Niniani Vita*, 19. This statement is also made by Bede; iii. iii.

§ *Caledonia*, i. 315. *App. Note C.*

|| *Ibid.*

¶ *Pinkerton's Inquiry*, ii. 277.

means improbable. But whatever he may have believed, or pretended, there is no evidence that miraculous gifts have been imparted to any since the days of the apostles. The dark and superstitious times in which he lived, however, should exempt him from the disgrace of errors and delusions which were then common; for St. Columba, also, and all the early saints on the Romish Calendar, supposed they possessed the miraculous influences of the Holy Spirit. And, besides, when we see grave Protestant divines inculcate the doctrine that, in certain circumstances, the power of working miracles will be conferred on faithful preachers of the gospel, the memories of Ninian and his contemporaries should surely no longer be visited with contempt or ridicule.*

His literary attainments cannot reasonably be regarded as great. Some of his biographers, however, have represented them as stupendous;† while Mr. Pinkerton characterises him “as a man of a confined mind, and a stranger to secular learning.”‡ But to him, with all his ignorance and bigotry, we owe the first ecclesiastical establishments in Scotland, and his name will ever hold a respectable rank among the early ornaments of our country.

* Smith's and Adomnan's *Life of St. Columba, passim*.—Tillotson's *Sermons*, viii. 304. ix. 362. Edin. 1772, 12mo.

† Leland *de Scriptoribus Britannicis*, i. 56. Some have even represented him as an author.—*Ne viderentur*, says Usher, *omnino posterorum immemor, in affectato, sed utili exarabat stylo, Psalterii Meditationes, librum unum, et Ex Sententiis Sanctorum, librum unum*.—*Uscii Britt. Eccl. Antiq. Balei Scriptoris Britannicæ*, i. 43.

‡ *Inquiry*, ii. 277.

CHAPTER II.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF MONASTERIES.

THE death of Ninian was fatal to the progress of learning and refinement in Galloway. The benefits which he conferred on the Galwegians, there was none after him to cherish and perpetuate. In the see of Candida Casa, indeed, Acta succeeded him, but Acta has left us no memorials either of his learning or usefulness; and besides, with the exception of the short period of seventy years, during the sway of the Anglo-Saxons, this see could not boast of a bishop for the protracted space of seven centuries.* Nor is this circumstance difficult to be accounted for. The political state of the district was extremely unfavourable to the cultivation of taste and of literature. In less than a century after the death of Ninian, Galloway became subject to the Anglo-Saxons of Northumbria; and though their conquerors conferred on them many advantages, though for a short time they revived the reduced bishoprick of Candida Casa, and taught them the arts of peace and of domestic comfort, the Galwegians never willingly submitted to their sway; they regarded them with hostility, and made frequent and daring attempts to regain their independence.

But the abdication of the Anglo-Saxons, which took place in the year 820, was not the source of much benefit to the Galwegians; their province was immediately overrun by a fresh horde of invaders; and they were afterwards involved in

* Keith's *Catal. of Scottish Bishops*, 161.

a continual state of warfare, offensive or defensive, till the middle of the fifteenth century, the date of the fall of the family of Douglas.

In such circumstances, they could devote no time to intellectual improvement. Such pursuits they would have reckoned unworthy of them, and incompatible with their glory and independence. To them the dignity of literature and civilization were entirely unknown. From their earliest youth, their pastime and trade was war; it was their daily, their sole occupation. So remarkable were they for daring and devoted heroism and enterprise, that these, at an early period, obtained them the appellation of the wild Scots of Galloway, and procured them from the Scottish king the distinction of forming the van in every engagement at which they might be present.

But the evils under which Galloway so long laboured were not unblended with many advantages. Their native princes, amid all their ambitious and warlike enterprises, were not inattentive to the interests of literature and religion; for by their means she could boast of no fewer than ten ecclesiastical establishments before the end of the thirteenth century. These continued to flourish, even under the inauspicious sway of the family of Douglas, who long held the province in thralldom, and who regarded intellectual endowments as a stain and reproach. Of these monastic establishments, for many ages the only sources of learning and religion, we now proceed to give such an account as the scantiness of materials has enabled us to collect.

MONACHISM, if we may believe that St. Ninian introduced it into Galloway, was then but of recent establishment. Anthony of Egypt is looked upon as the author of this system. In 305, he thought it meritorious to forego all the charities and sympathies of life, and to retire into the depths of the desert for the practice of austerity. His example was successively followed at Rome and in Pontus; and St. Martin, from whom Ninian received his instructions, was the first that founded a monastery in Western Europe.*

* *Hist. Acc. of Monachism*, in Gibbou, vi. 241—6. 8vo.

Monastic establishments have been regarded by modern writers as objects worthy only of contempt and of ridicule. With their very names we are taught to associate ideas of the most base and repulsive kind. Nor is this feeling entirely unfounded. For more than a century before their final suppression, monasteries were distinguished only for lewdness, ignorance, and impiety. But, however degraded they at last became, how objectionable soever they may be at a period when liberal knowledge is common, and schools and colleges are numerous, yet for many centuries they formed the only seminaries of education in our land; literature and science, unknown among the laity, were confined to the monks; and their records and chartularies contain almost the only repositories of our early literary and ecclesiastical history. The first two authors that Scotland can boast of were of the order of monks, and a great proportion of our early writers spent their days in a cloister.* When we are inclined to apply to these ancient establishments epithets of contempt or condemnation, let us soften our feelings by reflecting, that, for ages, they formed the only source from which the stream of intellectual attainments was fed and maintained—from which “roving clans and savage barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge, and the blessings of religion.”

About the middle of the twelfth century, Fergus, Lord of Galloway, founded a priory at WHITHORN, for monks of the Premonstratensian order, so called from Premonstrè in Champagne, the seat of their first abbey.† Of this monastery the records are entirely lost. At the Reformation, all the chartularies and ecclesiastical manuscripts that the Popish clergy could get into their hands were carried away by them, and either destroyed, or lodged in the Vatican at Rome, or the Scotch College at Paris. This was the case, in a peculiar manner, in the province of Galloway; for, of the many reli-

* Irving's *Scottish Poets*, i. 18, 19.

† Sir James Balfour's *Account of the Bishopricks and Monasteries in Scotland, and their founders, and time of foundation*, MS. Adv. Lib. Keith, &c. on *Religious Houses*. Keith's *Catalogue*, 214.

gious establishments with which it abounded, no records remain; and the very little that can now be known of their history must be collected from the meagre references of collateral sources.

With the exception of MORICE, who swore fealty to Edward I. in 1296, the names of none of the early priors of Whithorn have been handed down to us; but this loss is amply compensated by the celebrity of James Beaton and Gavin Duubar, both successively connected with this priory, and both afterwards raised to the highest civil and ecclesiastical dignities.

JAMES BETHUNE, or BEATON, was youngest son to John Beaton of Balfour, in Fife. He was prior of Whithorn some time before the year 1504. About this period he obtained the office of lord treasurer, and in four years afterwards was elected bishop of Galloway; but, before his consecration, he was promoted to the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow, on which appointment he resigned the situation of treasurer. He attained to the highest offices, both in church and state; for, in 1515, through the friendship of the Duke of Albany, then regent of the kingdom, he was created lord chancellor; and, in 1522, he was raised to the dignity of primate of Scotland. But his prosperity was not uninterrupted. Of the office of chancellor he was deprived by the fluctuation of court favour; and such at that period was the instability of power, that, to preserve his life, he was compelled to retire from his public duties, to lurk in the most remote corners of the country, and was even reduced to the necessity of tending sheep, disguised under the humble garb of a shepherd. When the Earl of Angus, however, whose accession to power was the source of all his misfortunes, lost the royal favour, this prelate returned to the unrestrained exercise of his episcopal functions, but was not afterwards allowed to resume the office of chancellor. He died in 1539, having nominated his nephew, the infamous Cardinal Beaton, his successor in the see of St. Andrews,—a nomination afterwards confirmed by the king.*

* Keith's *Catal. ut supra*. Crawford's *Officers of State*, 61-2.

The character of Beaton is any thing but respectable. His conduct was ever regulated by those tyrannical and arbitrary maxims, which, whether exercised as an engine of church or state policy, are uniformly subversive of the peace, the happiness, and safety of those against whom they are employed. Patrick Hamilton, and several others, whose names our church still venerates, he committed to the flames; while Buchanan, with many eminent men, were obliged to save their lives by seeking refuge in a foreign land.* “Principle,” says Dr. Cook, “had over his decision no influence; and it is impossible to acquit him of the heavy charge of having hypocritically sacrificed, under pretence of regard to what he despised, men who were guided by the conviction of their understanding, and who obeyed the suggestion of conscience.”†

But Beaton is yet entitled to some praise. He founded St. Mary’s college in St. Andrews. This seminary was erected on the most judicious and advantageous principle; it soon attained to no inconsiderable degree of eminence; and with it have been connected some of the best and most learned men of whom our country can boast.‡

Beaton was succeeded by GAVIN DUNBAR, son to Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum, county of Wigton, and Janet Stewart, daughter to the Laird of Garlies.§ He studied at the University of Glasgow, where he was remarkable for diligence, and

* Spottiswood, 62, *et seq.* Knox, 4, *et seq.*

† Cook’s *Reformation*, i. 163-4.

‡ Keith’s *Catalogue. Life of Melville*, i. 224—226.

§ Douglas (*Peerage*, p. 114.) is wrong in stating that Gavin Dunbar was son to Patrick Dunbar of Clugston, and grandson to the Laird of Mochrum. Dunbar of Clugston, Archibald Dunbar, founder of the family of Baldoon, and Gavin, were brothers, being sons of the Knight of Mochrum. Crawford’s *Officers of State*, p. 75. Crawford’s *MS. Gen. Coll. Ad. Lib. Dedication to Tripatriarchicon*, by the Rev. Andrew Symson.

The family of Mochrum, which is now represented by Sir William R. Dunbar, Bart., is of great antiquity. Thomas Dunbar, the first of Mochrum, who was second son of Patrick, ninth Earl of March, got a grant under the Great Seal, of the lands in question, and of others in 1368. (Douglas’s *Baronage*, 113.)

gained no inconsiderable share of literary celebrity. “ Being,” says Keith, “ a person of polite letters, he was pitched upon to have the education of the young king, James V. entrusted to him;”* and, according to Crawford, “ he managed the province allotted to him so happily, that he taught his royal pupil, with ease and pleasure, every thing that was necessary for so great a prince to learn in his young and tender years.”† This important trust, indeed, he discharged so much to the satisfaction of the regents of the kingdom, that in 1522, when the see of Glasgow became vacant by the translation of Archbishop Beaton to St. Andrews, they appointed Dunbar his successor at Glasgow. In 1523, he was raised to the dignity of chancellor of the kingdom; and when the king, in 1536, went to France, on his marriage to Magdalene, daughter of Francis I., the Archbishop of Glasgow was appointed one of the Lords of the Regency. The tie between the royal pupil and his preceptor was never dissolved. “ Dunbar,” says Crawford, “ had always a full share in his master’s esteem, who looked upon him as a wise and able servant, and worthy of the trust he reposed in him.”‡

With all his eminence, however, he seems not to have been a very useful preacher of the gospel; or, more properly speaking, he seems never to have preached at all. On one occasion, indeed, at the request of Cardinal Beaton, he travelled to Ayr to oppose the celebrated George Wishart, who was labouring, in that quarter, in propagating and enforcing the reformed doctrines. The pulpit which Wishart meant to occupy was taken possession of by his opponent, who, we are told, “ preached to his jackmen, and to sum auld boisses of the town. The soum of all his sermone was, *They say we sould preiche, quhy not? Better lait thryve, nor nevir thryve: Haud us still for your Bischope, and we sall provyde better the nixt tyme.* This was the beginning and end of the Bischopis sermone, wha with haist departit the toum, bot returnit not to

* Keith’s *Catalogue*, 86.

† Crawford’s *Officers of State*, 75.

‡ Crawford, *ut supra*.

fulfil his promise.* If this irreverent exhibition was made by the second dignitary of the Popish church in Scotland, we cannot form too low an opinion of the degraded state to which that faith was then reduced in this country.

Like the other Popish clergy of his day, Dunbar, as is evident from the foregoing statement, viewed the progress of the Reformation with extreme fear and dissatisfaction, and was not less remarkable than any of his brethren for a cruel and intolerant spirit. Bishop Keith, it must be confessed, states that Dunbar had not a "persecuting turn," though he quotes facts that undermine the assertion; and our illustrious Buchanan, who enjoyed his acquaintance, speaks of him with respect, and composed an epigram in his praise.† These writers have, I am afraid, judged too favourably: for we find him engaged with Cardinal Beaton in many of his most sanguinary measures, and endeavouring to check the advancement of the reformed doctrines, by committing to the flames those who preached and promoted them. To overlook the other arbitrary transactions in which he took an active part, we may safely conclude that a person who assisted on the trials of Patrick Hamilton and George Wishart, can, with little propriety, be said not to have possessed a "persecuting turn." And he not only concurred in the sentence passed on these men, but when Wishart was perishing at the stake, he, along with other prelates, kept his eyes fixed on the awful spectacle, and seemed to enjoy it.

In the parliament held in March 1542, immediately on the death of James V., a motion was made by Lord Maxwell, that the Bible be allowed to be read in our vernacular tongue. This overture, which redounds much to the honour of him who proposed it, was carried after considerable discussion, and was the first public and legislative step towards a reformation of religion. From this decision, however, which went to sap the very foundation of the Popish faith, Archbishop Dunbar, in his own name, and in the name of "all the prelates of the

* Knox's *History*, 54. Edin. 1731.

† *Epigram*. l. 43. *Buchanan's Historia*, xiv. 496.

realm," thought it proper to dissent. This opposition, which was of course unavailing, does not impress us with a very favourable opinion of the dignitaries by whom it was made.*

He died on the 30th of April 1547, and was interred in the chancel of his cathedral, in a tomb which he had caused to be built for himself.†

The Abbey of DUNDRENNAN was founded by Fergus, Lord of Galloway. The first monks of this place were brought from Rievall in Yorkshire, and were of the Cistercian order.‡ The first abbot of Dundrennan, was SYLVANUS, who died in 1189. There is a chasm of nearly three hundred years in the history of this abbey, which cannot now be filled up. In the beginning of the fifteenth century, THOMAS was abbot of Dundrennan,—“a man,” says the Rev. Mr. Thomson, “who was an honour not only to his country, but to the age in which he lived.”§ He was a member of the two celebrated councils of Constance and Basil. He and Bishop Kennedy of Dunkeld represented the Scottish church in the council of Constance; while, if we credit so fabulous a writer as Dempster, he held a more dignified rank in that of Basil.|| Dr. Mackenzie, who is remarkable for any thing but accuracy, has placed the meeting at Basil before that of Constance, and has spoken of this abbot as living in 1470. It is not likely that, when chosen to represent the Scottish church in 1414, he was so young, that he can be expected to have been alive sixty years after that period.¶ It is evident, indeed, that he survived the council of Basil, which met in 1431, only a very short time, for in a few years after this period, another ecclesiastic filled the abbot's chair of Dundrennan.

Part of the Chronicle of Melrose was composed by an abbot of

* *Officers of State*, 77.—Keith's *Hist.* 50-1.

† Keith's *Catal.* 86.

‡ Spottiswood, Keith and Hope, on *Religious Houses*; also Sir James Balfour's *Acc. of the Bishopricks and Monasteries*, MS. Adv. Lib.

§ *Statist. Acc. of Scot.* xi. 45. || Dempster, *Apparatus ad Hist. Scot.* i. 69.

¶ *Lives of Scottish Authors*, i. 319.

this place; and it has been conjectured that the ecclesiastic of whom we are speaking, was the writer of it.* From the celebrity which he acquired, it is not at all improbable; but the truth of this conjecture we have no means to ascertain.

HENRY, who succeeded Thomas, was abbot of this place before the year 1437; for at that date, a charter granted by him to Henry Cutlar of Orroland, was confirmed by the pope. Of this abbey, I have learned nothing from the period just mentioned, till the middle of the subsequent century, when another person of the name of Henry appears as a member of the privy council, under the designation of Abbot of Dundrennan.†

EDWARD MAXWELL, the son of the noble family of that name, was abbot here in the time of Mary. This ill-fated woman, after the fatal battle of Langside, fled, at the recommendation of Lord Herries, who accompanied her to Dundrennan, which thus had the honour of affording an asylum to this beautiful and interesting princess. Edward Maxwell, along with his relations, Lord Herries, and Lord Maxwell, as also Gordon of Lochinvar, M'Lellan of Bombie, and many others connected with this district, subscribed a bond immediately before the battle of Langside, obliging themselves to protect and defend their unfortunate queen. The ecclesiastic of whom we are treating, was the last abbot of this place, which at his death was annexed to the chapel royal at Stirling.

* At the end of the Chronicle is this note:—*Hæc est vera copia Antiquæ Chronicæ de Melross in Scotia, inchoata per Abbatem de Dundrennan ab Anno 735, continuata per varios ad Annum 1270.*

† Keith's *History*, App. 50.

CHAPTER III.

HISTORY OF MONASTERIES CONTINUED.

THE Priory of ST. MARY'S ISLE also owes its erection to Fergus Lord of Galloway, and was the seat of Canons Regular of the order of St. Augustine. The history of this establishment for the first four hundred years has sunk into oblivion.

DAVID PANTHER, or PANITER, of an ancient family near Montrose, was prior of this place towards the middle of the sixteenth century, and is one of the most learned men connected with Galloway. He held several benefices, being at the same time prior of St. Mary's Isle, vicar of Carstairs, and commendator of Cambuskenneth.* For a considerable time before the year 1545, he was also principal secretary of state; and it was while he held this appointment, that he wrote those elegant official letters which have perpetuated his name. He was elected to the bishoprick of Ross at the period just mentioned, but was not consecrated, as immediately on his nomination he was appointed ambassador for Scotland at the French court, where he continued seven years; during which period he regularly received the revenue of that see. His consecration took place at Jedburgh on his return, in the presence of the Earl of Arran and a splendid company of nobility, all of whom bestowed great praises on him for the remarkable prudence and wisdom with which he had discharged the duties of his high trust.†

* Keith's *Cat.* 113.

† *Leslaus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, 478.

In the political transactions of his time, he still continued to act a prominent part. Soon after his return to his native land, he was employed by the King of France to treat with the Earl of Arran, to induce him to resign the regency into the hands of the Queen Dowager. His negotiation was successful; and the French monarch, as a reward for his services, conferred on him an abbey in Poictou. In 1550, when peace was likely to be concluded between Scotland and England, he was sent as commissioner from the Scottish Parliament to bring about that desirable event; and when Mary was married to the Dauphin of France, Panther with several other illustrious men, were deputed by the Scottish nation to attend, as witnesses of the ceremony. Having led a life of great activity and eminence, he died at Stirling on the 1st of October 1558.*

Few of that age were more remarkable for taste and for erudition, than bishop Panther. The celebrated Lesly, who at a subsequent period filled the same see, speaks of him in the most enthusiastic terms;† and Mr. Ruddiman, no incompetent judge, remarks, of how fine a genius Panther was his letters sufficiently declare;‡ for they are such as could only have been written by a man imbued with elegant literature, and deeply skilled in the principles of political economy.§ These letters, indeed, which were written on public business in his official capacity as secretary of state, and published by Ruddiman in 1722, afford a model of classical latinity, and are deserving of higher celebrity than has been awarded them. The publication of Ruddiman consists of two volumes, of which the second only was composed by our prelate, the first being the work of Patrick Panther, his near relation, and also an elegant writer.¶

* Buchanan's *Hist.* xvi. Keith's *Hist.* 72. Spottiswood's *Hist.* 90.

† *Leslaus de Rebus Gestis Scotorum*, 478—516.

‡ *Epistolæ Reg. Scot.* The full title of this book is *Epistolæ Jacobi Quarti, Quinti, et Mariæ Regum Scotorum, eorumque Tutorum, et Regni Gubernatorum, ad Imperatores, Reges, Pontifices, Civitates et Alios ab anno 1505. ad annum 1545.* Edin. 1722, 2 vols. 8vo.

§ *Epistolæ Reg. Scot.*

But whatever was his eminence as a scholar, it is doubtful if much praise be due to his moral and religious character. He seemed, says Buchanan, to have been educated in the school of profaneness, and not in that of piety; and at court he prompted men to all manner of impurities; and Knox represents him as a man of grossness and sensuality; “Eating and drinking,” says he, “was the pastyme of his lyif.”*

ROBERT RICHARDSON, whose progenitors had, for several generations, been respectable citizens of Edinburgh, was, about the year 1560, created commendator of St. Mary’s Isle. Along with Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway, he was present in the parliament (1560) in which the Confession of Faith was first ratified, and is mentioned among others as having “renouneit papistry, and openly professed Jesus Christ with us.”† Two years before this period, he had been advanced by the Queen-Regent to the offices of lord treasurer and general of the mint. He seems either to have been a man of no warmth or violence of feeling, or to have been calculating, selfish or temporizing, for he contrived to retain his two lucrative situations, both under Mary and under her son. He purchased large estates, which, at his death in 1571, he left to his two sons—Sir James Richardson of Smeaton, and Sir Robert of Pencaitland.‡

The Priory of TONGLAND was founded about the middle of the twelfth century, by that munificent prince whom we have so often mentioned. The monks were of the Premonstratensian order, and were brought from Cockerland in Lancashire. We find ALEXANDER, abbot of this place, swear fealty to Edward I. in 1296. He was also a subscriber to Bagimont’s Roll. The next abbot of Tongland of whom we have any memorials, is JAMES HERRIES, who, in 1430, repaired this monastery, which was greatly decayed, and enclosed the precincts with a high wall. “He was a Doctor of the Sorbonne,” says

* Knox’s *History*, 118.

† *Ib.* 280.

‡ Crawford’s *Officers of State*, 383.

Keith, "and much famed for his learning, and wrote upon the validity of indulgences."*

In the reign of James IV. an Italian, a man of doubtful worth, who came to this country in the character of a physician and alchymist, was promoted to the abbot's chair of this place. He seems to have been a fanciful theorist and projector. Having laid claims to the art of flying, he undertook to rise, in the presence of the king and courtiers, from the battlements of Stirling castle, and fly to France, whither he was to arrive before the Scottish ambassadors, who were just then commencing their journey. The result of this mad attempt may easily be anticipated. He not only entirely failed, but his thigh bone was broken by the fall; and, as Dunbar says, he sunk deep into a dunghill. That his wings were not entirely composed of the feathers of the more noble and dignified birds, but blended with those of the lowest fowls, he regarded as the cause of his failure and disgrace.† By this ridiculous exhibition, he exposed himself to the keen personal satire of William Dunbar, author of the allegorical poem of *The Thistle and the Rose*. The poet, after admirably describing how the feathered tribes attacked him for invading their province, adds :

For feir uncunningly he cawkit,
 Quhyll all his pennis war drown'd and drawkit,
 He maid a hundreth molt all hawkit,
 Beneath him with a spowt.

He scheure his feddereme that was schene,
 And slippit out of it full clene,
 And in a myre, up to the ene,
 Amang the glar did glyd.
 The fowlis all at the fedrem dang
 As at a monster thame amang,
 Quhyll all the pennis of it owtsprang
 Intill the air full wyde.

And he lay at the plunge evir mair
 Sa lang as any ravin did rair ;

* Keith's *Cat.* 245.

† *Leslaus de Rebus Gest. Scot.* 331—346. Dunbar's *Poems*.

The crawis him socht with cryis of cair
 In every schaw besyde.
 Had he reveild bene to the ruikis,
 Thay had him revin with thair cluikis.
 Thre dayis in dub amang the dukis
 He did with dirt him hyde.”

Of the subsequent life of this ecclesiastic nothing is known.

WILLIAM MELVILLE is the only other person whose name I can discover, as connected with this abbey; of which he was commendator. He was fourth son of Sir John Melville of Raith, and brother to Sir James Melville of Halhill, whose *Memoirs* are so well known.* Melville is often mentioned in the history of his times, by the title of Lord Tunland. This title he obtained on being made a Lord of Session in 1587, on the resignation of the Dean of Moray.† Dubartas, the celebrated French poet, having visited Scotland in 1597, was made known to James VI. who had published a translation of his poem of *Uranie*. Henry IV. then king of Navarre, gave him secret instructions to endeavour to bring about a marriage with his sister and the Scottish monarch, to whom he introduced him. The representation of Dubartas made no inconsiderable impression on the mind of James; for when Dubartas departed, a person of trust was despatched at the same time to accompany the poet, and to bring home an account of the Princess of Navarre. The person to whom this affair was entrusted was Lord Tunland. The marriage, however, did not take place, in consequence of the ardent attachment of the Princess to the Comte de Soissons. Melville was decidedly hostile to the existence of presbytery in Scotland; and we find him often employed by the Scottish monarch as his commissioner in the ecclesiastical courts. In 1595, along with Maegill of Cranston-Riddel, he appeared before the presbytery of Haddington with a complaint from the king against the famous John Davidson, minister of Prestonpans, for his resistance to the royal will at the last General Assembly, and

* Crawford's *Peerage*, 325. Melville's *Memoirs*, 323.

† Hailes' *Catalogue of Lords of Session*, 6—8.

for protesting against the proceedings and enactments of the two former Assemblies.* In the year after that just mentioned, Sir Patrick Murray and Melville were appointed to attend the synod of Fife, and not to allow the measures of the late Assemblies to be altered or annulled. The synod, however, showed no disposition of the kind. Melville died in 1613. He was subservient to every wish of his sovereign, and showed not much respect to the civil rights and religious privileges of his countrymen.†

The monastery of SAULSEAT, which lies in the parish of Inch, in the neighbourhood of Stranraer, was also founded by Fergus, lord of Galloway, and was the seat of monks of the Premonstratensian order. It was so called, according to Symson, either from *Sedes Animarum*, or from *Sedes Saulis*, a person of the name of Saul being the first abbot of it. It never rose to any eminence, and of its history nothing is known. The only hint I have met with connected with it, is, that, in 1568, the abbot of Sauseat, along with some of the most eminent men of the kingdom, subscribed a bond, obliging themselves to defend, by every means in their power, their unfortunate queen.

The college or provostry of LINCLUDEN, situated on the small river Cluden where it joins the Nith, about two miles above Dumfries, was originally a convent for Benedictine or Black Nuns, and was founded by Uehred, son to Fergus, lord of Galloway. The nuns were, about the end of the 14th century, expelled by Archibald the Grim, Earl of Douglas, on account of their debauched and scandalous lives, and this establishment converted into a college or provostry.

The first provost of Lincluden was ELEASE, who was succeeded by ALEXANDER CAIRNS, chamberlain to the Earl of Douglas. He was succeeded, in 1424, by JOHN CAMERON of the

* M'Crie's *Life of Melville*, ii. 134.

† Spottiswood's *Hist.* 453. Calderwood's *Hist.* 425. Hailes' *Catalogue*, 8.

house of Lochiel,—a man whose name is recorded in the history of his country. He attained to the highest offices in the state. James I. on his return from England, made him secretary and lord privy seal, and afterward chancellor of the kingdom. He was at a subsequent period elevated to the archiepiscopal chair of Glasgow, and was elected one of the delegates from the Church of Scotland to the council of Basil, whither he went with a magnificent retinue of thirty persons. The rebellion, which, after murdering James I., brought his son to the throne, deprived Cameron of the office of chancellor. He now retired from public life; and died at Lockwood, on the 24th December 1446.

His character, and the circumstances of his death, have been variously represented. From one account it would seem that to all his vassals within his diocese he had been infamously cruel and inquisitorial, and that his end was worthy of his wicked life; for that, after thrice hearing a voice calling on him to appear before the tribunal of Christ to plead his cause, he suddenly expired, uttering a deep groan, his countenance being distorted, and his tongue suspended from his mouth. This is the account given by Buchanan, and is re-echoed by Spottiswood; while Crawford and Keith dispute the truth of it, as Buchanan has stated it merely on the faith of public report, and as, had Cameron been so harsh and unprincipled, it is improbable that he could have retained so long the countenance and favour of the best of sovereigns. Whether Cameron was an amiable character, cannot now be decided; but the statement of Buchanan is too absurd to gain implicit confidence.*

The next provost of Lincluden was HALLIBURTON, of whom nothing is known, and who was succeeded by JOHN METHUIN. After Methuin, persons of the names of LINDSAY, LIVINGSTONE, HERRIES and ANDERSON were successively provosts of this place. ANDREW STEWART, third son of Sir James Stewart of Lorn, by Jane, widow of James I., succeeded Ander-

* *Buchanani Historia in Vita Jacobi II.* Spottiswood, 114. Crawford's *Officers of State*, 21. Keith's *Catalogue*, 148.

son. He was dean of faculty of the university of Glasgow, and subsequently bishop of Moray. He died in 1501.*

Stewart was succeeded by GEORGE HEPBURN, uncle to the first Earl of Bothwell, who, while he held several benefices, was also lord treasurer of Scotland. He died at the side of his monarch on the bloody field of Flodden.†

WILLIAM STEWART, son of Sir Thomas Stewart of Minto, was, it is thought, the next provost of Lincluden. He was raised to the dignity of lord treasurer of Scotland in 1530, and two years afterward, was created bishop of Aberdeen. To the college of that place he was very munificent; he bestowed upon it a considerable addition to its revenue, and built apartments for a library. He founded two schools; and, honoured by all, he died on the 17th of April 1545. "He was," says Spottiswood, "a man given to virtue, charitable to the poor, and ready to every good work."‡

This provosty was afterwards filled, in succession, by MAXWELL, and three persons of the name of DOUGLAS, the third of whom was the last provost of Lincluden, which was erected into a temporal barony in 1565; since which time it has been the property of the Maxwells of Nithsdale.

The Abbey of GLENLUCE was founded in 1190, by Roland, Lord of Galloway, and Constable of Scotland. The monks, who were of the Cistercian order, were brought from Melrose. Here again we have to complain of the same want of materials as on former occasions: few names connected with this abbey have come down to us. In 1214, WILLIAM was abbot of Glenluce, who, though probably a man of credulity, seems not to have been entirely destitute of learning. The ecclesiastics of this early period, indeed, were much more learned and virtuous than they are generally represented or believed, or than their successors of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. All that can now be known of this abbot is, that he flourished at

* Keith's *Cat.* 86.

† Crawford's *Officers of State*, 368.

‡ Crawford's *Officers of State*, 373—4. Spottiswood, 106.

the period recently mentioned, and that he addressed a letter, written in Latin, to the Prior of Melrose, containing an account of a remarkable phenomenon in the heavens, which had been observed by two monks of Glenluce. This letter has already appeared in print, and affords no very contemptible specimen of the monkish latinity of that early period.* In the Chronicle of Melrose, he is termed *optimi testimonii, et sanctae conversationis monachus*. In the reign of James IV. WALTER was abbot of Glenluce, having been sent thither by John Duke of Albany.

CUTHBERT BAILLIE, of the ancient family of Carphin, descended from that of Lamington, is the next person I find connected with this abbey; of which he was commendator. He was early destined for the church; and so soon as he entered into orders, obtained a canonry in the chapter of Glasgow, and was made rector of Cumnock. How early he held the commendatorship of Glenluce, I have not discovered; but he died in 1514, after having for two years filled the dignified office of lord-treasurer of the kingdom. THOMAS HAY, of the house of Park, was commendator of the abbey in 1560.†

LAWRENCE GORDON, son to Alexander, bishop of Galloway and archbishop of Athens, was abbot of this place in the end of the 16th, and beginning of the 17th century. In 1602, James IV. erected, in his favour, Glenluce into a temporal barony, which, at his death in 1606, was, by royal charter, conferred on his brother John, dean of Salisbury; who was at length succeeded by his son-in-law, Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonston. Glenluce was afterwards annexed to the see of Galloway, the revenue of which, from various causes, had been much reduced; and, towards the end of the 17th century, it was again erected into a barony, and became the property of the family of Dalrymple, afterwards Earls of Stair.‡

* Mackenzie's *Lives of Scottish Writers*, i. 406.

† Crawford's *Officers of State*, 369.

‡ Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* 795. Gordon's *History of the Family of Gordon*.

Of the abbey of KIRKCUDBRIGHT, which was the seat of Franciscan or Grey Friars, and probably founded either by Roland, formerly mentioned, or his son, Allan, lord of Galloway, no account can now be given. Like Saulseat, it seems never to have attained to any degree of celebrity: the following notice is all I can discover respecting it. In the time of David II. JOHN CARPENTER belonged to this place—a man who, says Keith, “was an excellent engineer, and dexterous in contriving all instruments of war; he fortified the castle of Dunbarton, for which he had twenty pounds Sterling of yearly allowance settled upon him by that monarch.”*

The abbey of SWEET-HEART was, early in the 13th century, instituted by Dervorgille, daughter of Allan, lord of Galloway, and wife of the illustrious John Baliol, and was the seat of Cistercian monks. At the death of her husband, which took place in France, Dervorgille extracted his heart, and having spiced and embalmed it, put it into an ivory box, bound with silver and enamelled; and, having brought it home, deposited it solemnly in the wall of Sweet-heart, near the high altar.† This circumstance gave the name of Sweet-heart to the monastery, which in modern times, is also known by the appellation of New-Abbey. The only eminent name connected with this place, is that of GILBERT BROWN, who was descended of the ancient family of Carsluith, in the parish of Kirkmabreck, now extinct, and who was the last abbot of Sweet-heart. His connexion with this abbey must have been soon after the middle of the sixteenth century, as, in 1560, he had a seat in that parliament, by which the Confession of Faith was passed.‡ The celebrity of Gilbert Brown originated in the controversy between him and the famous John Welsh of Ayr, on the subject of popery. A

* Keith's *Cat.* App. 275.

† Wynton's *Chronikil of Scotland*, edited by Macpherson, viii. 8.

‡ Keith's *Cat.* 260.

communication from Welsh, to a person of the Catholic religion, the object of which was, to undermine the principles of that faith, having fallen into the hands of Brown, he immediately composed what he regarded as a refutation of it, addressed to Welch.* Welsh was not tardy in making a reply; which, while it is extremely satisfactory and conclusive, forms one of the most learned and elaborate works written in that age. Nor was Brown without his share of talent; and his erudite treatise, (if a few pages can deserve that name,) is as superior to the works of any of his Catholic brethren of that period, as it is inferior in every useful quality to the elaborate production of Welch.—Welch wished for a verbal and public disputation on the points at issue; but this, Brown, for his own good name, had the caution and prudence to decline.†

“Brown,” a rigid and inflexible catholic, “was,” says Dr. M'Crie, “a busy trafficker for Rome and Spain, and a chief instrument of keeping the south of Scotland under ignorance and superstition.”‡ Accordingly, the commissioners of the Assembly, in a list of grievances, which, in 1596, they submitted to the king, stated among other things, “that Jesuits and excommunicated papists were entertained within the country.” Gilbert Brown of New-Abbey was specially mentioned, and recommended to be apprehended, and brought before his majesty for his errors. This recommendation, however, was not attended with immediate success: but, nine years afterwards, he was apprehended by Lord Cranstoun, captain of the guard appointed for the borders—though not without some difficulty, as the people attempted to rescue him out of his hands.§ He was first confined in Blackness, and thence in a few days conveyed to the castle of Edinburgh.

* The title, or rather the first sentence of Brown's reply, is, *Ane Answer to ane certaine libell or writing, sent by Mr. John Welsche, to ane Catholicke, as ane Answer to ane objection of the Roman kirk, whereby they go about to deface the veritie of that onely true religion whilk we professe.*

† Preface of Welsh's *Reply*.

Life of Melville, ii. 208.

§ Calderwood's *Hist. App.* 320—496. Keith's *Cat.* 26.

More kindness was shown by the king to him than to his amiable and ingenious opponent; for after having been liberally entertained, while in confinement, at the public expence, he was permitted to leave the kingdom; all the apparatus and insignia of popery belonging to him having been carefully restored before his departure. He died in France in 1612.*

The abbey of WIGTON, the seat of Dominican or Black Friars, was founded in 1262, by Lady Dervorgille of Gallo-way. Of its history nothing is known; and even the very ruins of it have totally disappeared. Friars, indeed, from the very nature of their order, never attained to eminence. Obligated, as they were, to profess poverty, and to subsist on the charity of the world, their lives necessarily passed away in the most uninteresting and inglorious manner. Whatever influence they may have possessed, whatever esteem they may have acquired in the limited sphere in which they moved, their names, unassociated with any great purpose or achievement, soon sunk into total oblivion. This was the case in a peculiar manner with the establishment at Wigton. Of the existence of the various successions of Friars who adorned, or disgraced it, the faintest memorial cannot now be traced.

* Sir Robert Spottiswood, second son of the archbishop of that name, seems to have got a grant of this abbey. He succeeded his celebrated father as a Lord of Session in 1622, under the title of Lord New-Abbey. He was in 1633 elected president of the court; but, on the triumph of presbytery in 1637, he ceased to exercise that office. He joined the marquis of Montrose; and was apprehended near Philiphaugh, in August 1645. He was tried for treason, by a committee of parliament, and found guilty. He was beheaded at the market-cross of St. Andrews, 20th January 1646. *Memoirs of his Life*, prefixed to his *Practicks of the Law of Scotland*, edited in 1706, by his grandson, Mr. John Spottiswood, advocate.

CHAPTER IV.

BISHOPRICK OF GALLOWAY.

HAVING, in the two preceding chapters, given an account of the monastic establishments in Galloway, we must now go back to trace her episcopal history,—a task for which the materials are, upon the whole, ample and satisfactory. We have already mentioned, that Ninian was succeeded by a person of the name of ACTA, and that, after his time, with the trifling exception of about seventy years, this bishoprick remained in a state of decay until the middle of the twelfth century. At this latter period, therefore, our present account begins.

The bishoprick of Candida Casa* was revived in 1154, probably by Fergus, Lord of Galloway, who flourished at this period, and was a great patron of learning and religion. CHRISTIAN, who was consecrated bishop of that see in the year just mentioned, seems to have been a man of no inconsiderable eminence. He is mentioned by Rymer as a witness to the sentence passed by Henry II. of England in 1177, in the dispute referred to his decision by Alfonsus and Sanctius, two princes of Spain.† About the same period Cardinal Tomasi, arriving in Scotland, as legate from Rome, summoned the

* We use the terms *Galloway* and *Candida Casa* as synonymous, the bishoprick in question being designated by either of these names. The diocese of Galloway comprehended Wigtonshire and the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and, according to Spottiswood, part of Dumfries-shire. (*Hist. App.* 10.)

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, i. 48.

Scottish prelates to Edinburgh, where he sat in council. Christian refused to obey the summons, because, being a suffragan of the see of York, he regarded himself as subject only to the jurisdiction of the archbishop of that place. Nor might this have been his sole reason. The connexion of the Galwegians with their Scottish neighbours was, for many centuries, very slender and jealous; and an alliance with England was warmly courted and cherished, to enable them to resist the inroads of the Scottish kings. Such, it is probable, was also their ecclesiastical state, even so early as the time of Christian. It is, at least, evident, that all the bishops of Candida Casa, until the beginning of the fourteenth century, being consecrated at York, owned subjection only to that see; and it is even mentioned, that at one period, when the convent and prior of Whithorn, and the other inhabitants of Galloway, severally espoused the cause of rival candidates for the see of Candida Casa, and when each applied to the archbishop in favour of their respective competitor, that prelate preferred and consecrated the person recommended by the Galwegians, thus indisputably shewing the extent and stability of his power. Whatever, in the time of Christian, may have been the ecclesiastical connexion between England and Galloway, or whatever reasons he may have urged in support of the step he had taken, he was nevertheless suspended from his office by the legate.* Of his subsequent history we know nothing, but that he died at Holmcultram in the year 1186.

Christian was succeeded by JOHN, who, in 1206, resigning his charge, retired to the abbey of Holyrood, where he died in 1209.†

WALTER was the next bishop of this see. He is termed by Keith chaplain (*clericus*) to Roland, Lord of Galloway, and afterwards chamberlain to Allan, the last of the male line of that illustrious family. He died in 1235.‡

His successor, it is thought, was GILBERT, abbot of Kinloss,

* Hailes' *Hist. Memoirs concerning the provincial councils of the Scottish Clergy*, 6.

† *Forduni Scotichronicon*, viii.

‡ Keith, 161.

who, having been recommended and supported by the inhabitants of Galloway, was opposed by the prior and convent of Whithorn, who made choice of Odo, abbot of Deretonsal. The decision of this matter, as mentioned above, was referred to the archbishop of York, who, preferring the claims of Gilbert, invested him with episcopal dignity.*

Gilbert died in 1253, and was succeeded by HENRY, abbot of Holyrood, whom Baliol chose as one of the commissioners, on his part, in the dispute between Bruce and him for the crown of Scotland.†

The see of Galloway was next filled by THOMAS, who, in 1296, swore fealty to Edward I. and recognised Bruce's title to the Scottish throne.‡ To this prelate the following lines of Wynton refer:—

De Byschope of Gallway, thare Thomas,
(A Theolog solempne he was,)
Made a Sermownd rycht plesant,
And to the matere accordant. §

Of the other persons who held this see till about the year 1426, little else than the names have come down to us. ALEXANDER VAUX, descended of the ancient and powerful family of the De Vallibus or De Vaux, was consecrated bishop of Galloway about that year. His name is mentioned by Rymer; he is honoured with the praise of Lesly; and Boyce terms him *vir nobilis et eruditus*—a learned man, and of noble extraction.|| In 1429, he was appointed by James I. one of the preservers of the peace on the borders of Scotland. He resigned his bishoprick about the year 1451, in favour of THOMAS SPENCE, a man of no inconsiderable distinction.¶

“Spence being a man of singular prudence,” according to Keith, “was employed in several embassies, particularly in the treaty of marriage between the Duke of Savoy and Lewis

* Hailes, *ut supra*.

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, ii. 555.

‡ Keith, *ut supra*.

§ Wynton's *Chronykil of Scotland*, ix. 13.

|| Rymer's *Fœdera*, x. *Boethii Aberdon. Episcop. Vitæ*, f. xiv.

¶ *Boethius, ut supra*. f. xv.

Count de Maurienne, his son, with Annabella, sister to James II. in 1449.* He was appointed, in 1451, one of the ambassadors from the Scottish Court, to negotiate a truce with England, and, in 1458, was made keeper of the privy seal. At this latter date, he was translated to the see of Aberdeen, when he resigned the office of privy seal, which, however, he again resumed, and kept till the year 1471.† He founded an hospital in Edinburgh for twelve poor men, called the Hospital of Our Lady, which is now converted into a work-house, under the name of Paul's Work.‡ He died at Edinburgh on the fifteenth day of April 1480.

He was succeeded by NINIAN, of whom nothing important is known, and at whose death GEORGE VAUX, a near relation of bishop Vaux, mentioned above, was, through the interest of Thomas Spence, out of gratitude to his benefactor, promoted to this see. It was during the time of this prelate that James III., having founded a chapel royal at Stirling, annexed it to the bishoprick of Galloway. George Vaux was the first that held this appointment; which was retained by his successors until the revolution in 1688; and the Pope having conferred episcopal dignity on the dean of the chapel, the bishops of Galloway were now designated *Candidæ Casæ et Capellæ Regiæ Strivclingen-sis Episcopi*—bishops of Galloway and of the chapel royal of Stirling.§ This appointment undoubtedly added much to the importance of the see to which it was thus annexed; but, from its very foundation, the dignity of this bishoprick was high; for, from its being the oldest in Scotland, and from the celebrity of the province in which it was situated, it ranked immediately after the archiepiscopal sees of St. Andrews and Glasgow. After the erection of Edinburgh into a bishoprick in 1633, it became fourth in degree; and the precedence of the other sees was determined by the seniority of the prelates by whom they were respectively filled.

James III. having been slain at Bannockburn, once the scene of a more glorious achievement, in a rebellion of his

* Keith's *Catalogue*, 163.

‡ Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*, 247

† Rymer's *Fœdera*, ix.

§ Keith's *Cat.* 164.

nobles, his only son, who headed the nobility on this occasion, and succeeded to the throne, retired soon after his accession to Stirling; and by means of the members of the chapel royal, and chiefly of bishop Vaux, the royal dean, he became so penitent on account of the undutiful part he had acted, that, while Vaux “put him in good hopes of forgiveness by God’s mercies in Jesus Christ,” he was induced, to give his conscience ease, to use an outward sign of repentance, and “garth make a girth of iron, and wear it daily about him, and eiked every year of his life certain ounces of weight thereto as he thought good.”*

Vaux must have died before the year 1508, as at that date JAMES BEATON, of whom we have already given an account, was elected bishop of Galloway; but Beaton, before he was consecrated, was advanced to the archbishoprick of Glasgow.

DAVID ARNOT, son to John Arnot of Arnot, and Catherine, daughter to Melville of Carnbee, was the next that filled this see. He was archdean of Lothian, abbot of Cambuskenneth, and commendator of Tongland.†

He died in 1526, and was succeeded by HENRY WEMYSS, who was nearly related to the noble family of that name in Fife. In 1540, he attended at St. Andrews, on the summons of Cardinal Beaton, on the trial of Sir John Borthwick for heresy, and concurred in the unjust and tyrannical sentence pronounced on that individual. He died in the course of the year just specified.‡

ANDREW DURIE, abbot of Melrose, and descended of an ancient family in Fife, succeeded him. He seems to have been rather eminent, and to have taken an active part in the political events of his time. He was seldom absent from his duty in parliament. With several noblemen, Durie, in 1550, accompanied the queen-dowager to France, whither she went to endeavour, by superseding the Earl of Arran, to get the regency of Scotland conferred on herself. And he was also

* Pitscottie’s *History of Scotland*, 174. *App.* note D.

† Keith’s *Cat.* 165. ‡ Spottiswood, 69. Keith’s *History*, *App.* 4.

one of the commissioners sent from the Scottish court to negotiate the marriage of Mary with the dauphin of France. His death took place in the month of September 1558.*

That Durie was exempt from the vices by which the Popish clergy were then distinguished, is hardly to be expected. And Knox accordingly presents us with a repulsive, though probably an exaggerated picture of him. "That enemy of God was sumtymes called, for his filthiness, Abbote Stottiken;" and "he vowed and plainly said, *that in despyte of God, so lang as thay that war prelats levid, sould that word, callit the crangell, never be preached within this realme.*"†

ALEXANDER GORDON, whose name must be familiar to the reader, and whose history we shall endeavour to detail with some minuteness, was, on the death of bishop Durie, promoted to the vacant see. He was the son of John, master of Huntly, and of Jane Stewart, natural daughter of James IV. "Scarcely any Scottish prelate," says Dr. M'Crie, "ever occupied so many different sees, or occupied them for so short a time."‡ When the bishoprick of Glasgow became vacant in 1547, on the death of Gavin Dunbar, Gordon, through the influence of his powerful family, obtained the appointment; but before he was inducted to the charge, he was opposed by James Beaton, then abbot of Aberbrothick, and the decision of the matter having been referred to the court of Rome, Beaton, though a man of inferior extraction, was preferred; while, as a compensation for his disappointment, the Pope conferred on Gordon the title of archbishop of Athens, which he ever afterwards retained, and gave him the promise of the first vacant benefice in Scotland in the gift of the Earl of Arran, then regent of the kingdom. He was afterwards successively bishop of the Isles and of Caithness, and in 1558 was promoted to the see of Galloway.

Gordon, with all the frailties that attach to the name, is entitled to the distinction of being the first prelate that was converted to the protestant faith. This happy change took place

* Keith's *Cat.* 165. † Knox's *History*, 118. ‡ *Life of Knox*, ii. 80.

immediately on his consecration to the see of Galloway ; for, in the year following, we find him associated with the promoters of the reformed religion in suspending, by a solemn deed, the queen-dowager from her authority as regent. Having unanimously adopted this important step, they elect a council for the management of public affairs until the meeting of a free parliament. “ When the council,” says Dr. M’Crie, “ had occasion to treat of matters connected with religion, four of the ministers were appointed to assist in their deliberations. These were Knox, Willock, Goodman, and Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway.”* And in 1560 Gordon, along with the barons of Lochinvar and Garlies, and other eminent individuals, subscribed the Confession of Faith and the first Book of Discipline, containing a plan of the ecclesiastical polity and religious tenets to which they bound themselves to adhere.†

The principles of Gordon, however, do not seem to have been of the most pure or most inflexible kind. Though, at one time, he was held in high estimation as a man of worth and piety, and was familiar with our great reformer, both “ in his house and at tabill,”‡ yet he never exhibited much zeal in promoting the interests of the protestant cause, and at length forsook the presbyterian party, with whom he had become bound to act. The hollowness of his pretensions Queen Mary was the first to detect and to expose. “ I understand,” (said the queen, in an interview with Knox at Lochleven in 1563), “ that ye ar appoynted to go to Dumfresse for the election of a superintendent, to be established in these countrys. Yes, said he, those quarters have gritt need, and sum of the gentlemen so requyre. But I heir, said sche, that the bischope of Athenis wald be superintendent. He is one, said the uther, madam, that is put in election. If ye knew him, said sche, as weall as I do, ye wald never promote him to that office, nor yet to any uther within your kirk. Quhat he has bein, said he, madam, I nyther know, nor yet will I inquire ; for in tyme of darkness, quhat culd we do, but grope and go wrong, even as dark-

* *Life of John Knox*, i. 300.† Knox’s *History*, book iii.

‡ Ib.

nes earyed us? Bot yf he feir not God, he deceaves mony mo than me. Weall, sayes sche, do as ye will, but that man is a dangerous man. And thairuntill," continues Knox, "was not the queen deceaved; for he had corrupted the maist pairt of the gentelmen not only to nominat him, bot also to elect him."* In consequence of this discovery, the appointment did not take place, but soon afterwards he was created, by the general assembly, visitor or commissioner of Galloway.†

He seems not to have discharged very conscientiously the sacred duties incumbent upon him. In 1567, we find him called before the assembly, and accused of not having, for three years, visited the kirks within his charge; of having haunted court too much; of having purchased to be one of the session and privy council, offices incompatible with a rigid discharge of the sacred duties; of having resigned Inchaffray, of which he had been commendator, in favour of a young child; and of having let divers lands in feu, to the injury of the funds of the church.‡ To these grave and multifarious charges he pleaded guilty; and yet, from some circumstance not fully explained, his commission was continued, with an admonition from the assembly to be more diligent and exemplary. At a subsequent period, however, he was suspended from every ecclesiastical office. Nor have I learned that this deed of suspension was ever rescinded.§

The history of Gordon affords us an interesting view of the purity of our infant church, and of the moral qualifications indispensably necessary in the character of her ministers. Though many of our early reformers were distinguished by birth and family connexions; though almost all of them were eminent for learning and genius, yet self-denial, virtue, and piety, were the most prominent features in their character.— They overlooked all the inconveniences and privations which, on account of their religious principles, they experienced; and with the greatest cheerfulness and resignation, they were ready to spend, and be spent, in promoting the cause of reformation. The age in which they lived was not worthy of them.

* Knox's *History*, 327. † *Ib.* ‡ Keith's *History*, 585-6. § Keith's *Cat.* 166.

With men of such exalted sentiments, a person, lukewarm and worldly-minded like Gordon, could not expect to make common cause. The splendour of his family, and his great influence at court, could procure him no favour in the eyes of men of such singleness of mind, who overlooked every adventitious distinction, and counted all things but loss, that they might win Christ.

Gordon, besides, was a man too deeply engrossed in secular pursuits, to make a faithful or useful minister of religion. In 1565, he was created an extraordinary Lord of Session.* He attended Parliament regularly.† Along with some of his most distinguished contemporaries, he was appointed by the queen to collect into one body the ancient laws of the kingdom.‡ We find him, with many others, immediately previous to the battle of Langside, sign a bond, obliging themselves to defend, by every means in their power, their unfortunate sovereign.§ His name, indeed, seems connected with almost all the important political transactions of his time. In such circumstances, it was totally impossible that he could discharge his sacred duties with scrupulous fidelity and care.

But though, as stated above, he had forfeited the confidence and employment of the general assembly, he did not altogether lay aside his clerical character. Knox having found it necessary for his safety to flee from Edinburgh in May 1571, Gordon occupied his pulpit. His discourses, according to Bannatine, were more agreeable to the queen's party than those of his predecessor; but the people despised him, for he not only supplanted their favourite pastor, but endeavoured to refute some of his opinions. The following extract from one of his

* He was superseded, however, as a judge, in 1569; because, to use the words of the book of sederunt, his place "vaiks by his continuall absence." Hailes' *Catalogue of Lords of Session*, notes, 8.

† Keith's *History*, App. *passim*.

‡ To these persons we owe the first impression of our laws, commonly called the *Black Acts of Parliament*, because they were printed in the black Saxon character. This took place in 1566. Mackenzie's *Lives*, ii. 504.

§ Keith's *History*, 477.

sermons, preached at this time, is curious in itself, and exhibits the sentiments then prevalent in the nation, respecting the guilt of the queen. He is enforcing the doctrine, that, with all her failings, she is their lawful sovereign, and, as such, is entitled to the prayers of her subjects :

“ Sanet David was a synner, and so was sche ; Sanet David was an adulterer, and so is sche ; Sanet David committed murder in slaying Urias for his wife, and so did sche : bot what is this to the mater ? the more wicked that sche be, hir subjectis suld pray for her, to bring hir to the spreit of repentance ; for Judas was ane synner, and gif he had bene prayed for, he had not diet in despair ; whairfore I pray all faythfull subjectis to pray for thair lauchfull magistrat, gif it be the quene. It is the quene, as I doubt not ; bot ye may weil consider that na inferior subject hes power to deprive or depose thair lauchfull magistrat, hie or sche whatsumever, albeit they comitt whoredome, murder, inceest, or ony uther cryme, being anes be God just and lauchfull prince or princes, to ring above you, not chosen as the imperiall magistrats are.”*

Gordon died in the year 1576.† He retained the revenue of the see of Galloway till his death ; which, indeed, he considered so much his own property, that, during his last sickness, he made a disposition of it in favour of his son John, dean of Salisbury, and it thus remained in his family for the most part of half a century. Well might Keith exclaim, “ thus went the ecclesiastical benefices in that period.”

Gordon, whose wife’s name was Barbara Logie, daughter to Logie of that ilk, left behind him several children, John, Lawrence, Robert, and George, and a daughter, Barbara, married to Anthony Stewart, rector of Penningham.‡ Lawrence, as already mentioned, was abbot of Glenluce, and the

* *Transactions in Scotland in 1570-3*, printed from Bannatine’s MS. under the superintendence of John G. Dalzell, Esq. 181.

† Keith’s *Catalogue*, 166.

‡ The parson of Penningham, who was son to Stewart of Garlies, got with Miss Gordon the lands of Clary, in that parish.—Gordon’s *History of the Family of Gordon*, i. 360.

remaining three seem to have been presented at different times to the bishoprick of Galloway ; but owing to the agitated condition both of the church and state, none of them obtained consecration for that dignity. This see, indeed, appears to have remained vacant from the time of bishop Gordon, until the induction of Gavin Hamilton, (of whom we shall soon speak,) in 1606.

JOHN GORDON, his eldest son, was a man of no ordinary talents and erudition. Having for a while attended the university of St. Andrews, and Baliol College, Oxford, he removed to France to prosecute his studies, where he soon became celebrated, particularly for his skill in the oriental languages. In a charter of the bishoprick of Galloway, and abbey of Tongland, conferred on him while in France, his knowledge in Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, and other tongues, is mentioned. He never, however, returned to his native land, to receive consecration for these offices. He afterwards held an eminent place in the domestic establishments of three successive sovereigns of France, Charles IX. Henry III. and Henry IV. ; and notwithstanding the many inducements and solicitations he must have met with there, to cause him change his religious faith, he maintained it uncorrupted. James VI., on his accession to the English throne, sent for Gordon from the continent, and conferred on him the deanery of Salisbury, a situation which he ever afterwards retained. In 1605 he maintained a disputation in Baliol College, in presence of the king ; and, as soon as it was over, was dignified with the degree of doctor in divinity, to show the sovereign the nature of that ceremony. He died in the month of August 1619, leaving behind him an only daughter, (by a second wife,) married to Sir Robert Gordon of Sutherland, one of the Lords of the bedchamber to James VI., but better known as the historian of his family. The following encomiastic stanzas, addressed to him by the celebrated Thomas Maitland, it may not be improper to insert, as they contain intimations of his character.

AD JOANNEM GORDONIUM.

Gordoni, eximia si laus virtute paratur,
 Laus tribuenda aliis, laus tribuenda tibi.
 Dulcis enim eloquii cum sit laudanda facultas ;
 Est tua tergemino lingua polita sono.
 Nemo Palladius tractat faelicibus artes,
 Ingenii tantum dexteritate vales.
 Quid ? quod forma viro digna est, sine crimine corpus,
 Et Juno eximias polliceatur opes.
 Magna quidem sunt haec ; namque laudanda putantur,
 Cur ego digna suis laudibus esse negem ?
 Sed candor morum magis est mirabilis illis
 Doctrina, ingenio, sanguine, forma, opibus.*

* *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum*, ii. 174.

The writings of Gordon, it may here be mentioned, are considerably ample. Dr. M'Crie mentions two letters from him,—one to the regent Murray, containing political intelligence, and the other to John Fox, on literary topics ; and that a poem composed by him is prefixed to *Plaidoyé pour M. Jean Hamilton*. The rest of his works are theological. The first, which must have been composed on the continent, as it was published the very year of his leaving it, and the object of which was to undermine the principles of the catholic faith, was likely written in consequence of the various public disputations which he had maintained in France on this subject. It is termed, *Assertiones Theologicæ pro vera veræ Ecclesiæ nota quæ est solius Dei adoratio*. 8vo. 1603. His next work was given to the world in consequence of James's attempt to establish episcopacy, a measure which he strenuously advocated : *England and Scotland's Happiness in being reduced to Unity of Religion under King James*. London, 1604, 4to. *Orthodoxo-Jacobus et Papa Apostaticus*, was published in 1611. The literary controversy between king James and cardinal Bellarmine is well known. Gordon, having espoused the side of the Scottish monarch on this occasion, wrote the following treatise in answer to Bellarmine, who had assumed the fictitious name of Mathæus Tortus : *Anti-Bellarmino-tortur, sive tortus retortus et Juliano papismus*. London, 1612, 4to. He published also a treatise on *The Ceremonies of the Church of England*, together with *Sermons, and other Things*.—*Life of Melville*, ii. 224, 5. Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*. London, folio, i. 795. Gordon's *History of the Family of Gordon*. Edin. 1726, i. 360-4.

CHAPTER V.

BISHOPRICK OF GALLOWAY CONTINUED.

HAVING, in the last chapter, endeavoured to give an account of the bishops of Galloway until the era of the Reformation, we now proceed, in order to make our narrative more distinct and uniform, to detail the history of the protestant prelates of this see until the year 1688, the date of the final downfall of episcopacy in Scotland.

GAVIN HAMILTON, son to John Hamilton of Orbiston, was, in 1606, promoted to the bishoprick of Galloway, after a vacancy of thirty years, during which period the deanery of the chapel royal was vested in the chapel of Dunblane.* Before he obtained this dignity, he was minister of Hamilton. On account of the reduced and ruined state of the revenue of his see, occasioned by the rapacity of bishop Gordon his predecessor, two other benefices were conferred upon Hamilton, who was thus, at the same time, prior of Whithorn and abbot of Dundrennan. Spottiswood mentions, that, in 1600, the revenue of Galloway “was so dilapidated, that scarcely it was remembered to have been.”†

On the death of Elizabeth, James, in going to take possession of the English throne, chose Gavin Hamilton, then minister of Hamilton, and Andrew Lamb, then of Brechin, both afterwards bishops of Galloway, with other eminent indi-

* Keith's *Catal.* 166. Spottiswood's *History*, App. 9.

† *Ib.* 458.

viduals, to attend him. We find Hamilton in London again in 1606, and that he, Spottiswood, and several other divines, were in the presence of the king, when Andrew and James Melville, with the other six Scottish ministers, were introduced to have a conference with his majesty. These prelates always pretended to befriend their persecuted countrymen, but their professions evaporated in empty promises and protestations. It is hardly to be expected, indeed, that Hamilton, who afterwards was a member of the High Commission Court, would feel much regret at the accumulated sufferings of these inflexible presbyterians.

In 1610, James summoned three Scottish prelates to London to receive consecration, there not being a sufficient number at home for performing that ceremony. These were Spottiswood of Glasgow, Lamb of Brechin, and Gavin Hamilton of Galloway. Having undergone this ceremony, they were thus qualified, on their return, to give ordination to those promoted to the vacant sees.*

Bishop Hamilton, who died in 1614, was succeeded by WILLIAM COWPER, a man of no ordinary talents and celebrity. We have no reason, in this instance, to complain of the want of authentic and copious materials. In addition to the biographical sketch of himself, which he composed during his last sickness, the incidents of his life are handed down to us in the literary and ecclesiastical history of his time.

Cowper was born in the year 1568. His father, John Cowper, a respectable merchant in Edinburgh, having early abjured popery, brought up his son in the principles and profession of the protestant faith. His mind seems to have been early impressed with a deep and an abiding sense of piety. "In my younger years," says he, "I was trained up with the wrestlings of God; from my youth I have borne his yoke, exercised with his terrors; yet so, that many a time his sweet consolations have refreshed my soul."†

* Spottiswood's *History*, 51 f. Keith's *Catal.* 166.

† *Life of Cowper*, written by himself, and prefixed to his works, printed at London, 1629, folio.

After receiving some elementary instruction in his native city, and after attending for four years the school of Dunbar,* he was sent to the University of St. Andrews, in 1580. In four years he was created Master of Arts; and being at this time urged by his parents to enter upon a profession different from that in which he took the deepest interest, “for my heart,” says he, “still inclined to the study of the holy Scriptures,” he left his paternal roof, and removed to England. There he remained for upwards of two years, employed at first as under teacher in the school of Hoddesdon, and afterwards in the service of Mr. Broughton, a learned divine, to whom he acknowledged himself indebted for much valuable instruction and edification.

He now returned to Edinburgh, and having for a while prosecuted his theological studies under his elder brother, one of the ministers of that city, and having given a “proof of his gift” privately before the Reverend Robert Pont of St. Cuthbert, Principal Rollock, and several other clergymen, he was authorized a probationer of the presbyterian church of Scotland, in the beginning of 1588. Nor did he remain long without the charge of a flock; for in a few months, on an application from Bothkennar in Stirlingshire, he was appointed by the general assembly minister of that parish, though then only in the twentieth year of his age. In this situation he did not remain long; for, by the direction of the assembly, in consequence of the earnest solicitation of the inhabitants of Perth, (without any application on his part), he was translated, at the end of seven years, to that town, where he performed, in the most faithful and zealous manner, the important functions of his station, till the year 1614, when, on the death of Bishop Hamilton, he was translated to the see of Galloway. †

* “At Dunbar school,” says he, “we went two and two to the church; God put then this prayer in my heart every day, in the way: Lord, bow mine ear, that I may hear thy word.” *Life of Cowper, ut supra.*

† “In Perth,” says Mr. Cowper, “I continued doing the work of God for the full space of nineteen years. How I did carry myself in my open

It is necessary, before we proceed farther, shortly to mention the circumstances in which our reformed church was now placed. A short time before the period at which we are arrived, episcopacy had been, through the policy of James VI. established in Scotland, both by a decision of the assembly, and an enactment of the Scottish Parliament. The examination and ordination of the candidates for the sacred office, as well as their disgrace and ejection, were vested solely in the bishops; none could be inducted to a benefice, unless he acknowledged his sovereign as the only head of the church, and professed obedience to the bishop of the diocese; and those who manfully opposed these innovations, and endeavoured to maintain the polity established by the early reformers, were either immured within the walls of a dungeon, or banished from their native land. This state of things was introduced by slow degrees, and was such as we have described it, at the time when Cowper obtained the presentation to the bishoprick of Galloway.

Cowper's sentiments respecting ecclesiastical discipline did not remain unchanged until the date of his preferment. He could not, for several years previous to this period, have retained his living in Perth, without owning subjection to episcopal dignity; and accordingly, in 1603, we find him attend a packed assembly, which the zealous adherents to presbytery regarded as illegal and unconstitutional, and from this time readily concurring in all the measures sanctioned by royal and episcopal authority.

The public transactions in which he was engaged, show the esteem in which he was held. In 1596, a publication, consisting of fifty-five articles, which were intended to undermine the foundation of presbytery, and to pave the way for that

conversation, living among them, not as one separate from them, but mixed myself in all their fellowship, as a comfort to the best, and a wound to the worst inclined sort, this age will not want living witnesses to record it. My diligence, in like manner, in the ministry, not only on the ordinary days, but on others, which I voluntarily chose thrice a-week, Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays, for a preparation to the Sabbath."—*Life of Cowper, ut supra.*

innovation which the king intended to make in the church, was submitted by him to the assembly which met at Perth in the month of February of that year. Though the most vigorous measures were taken to defend the established church; though several of the inferior judicatories gained to themselves immortal honour, by their zeal and fearlessness;—yet, by corruption, by persuasion, by threatenings, the king was enabled, in that assembly, and at a subsequent one which met at Dundee the year following, to make that first inroad on the presbyterian establishment, which was fraught with so much evil to the peace and happiness of his subjects. William Cowper was appointed by the first of these assemblies a member of the commission for “reasoning” the articles given in by the king; and when the principal articles were decided upon, another commission of “the most wise and discreet brethren,” Cowper being included in the number, were nominated by the second assembly to treat of the remainder, and all affairs that might concern the good of the church.*

In the assembly which met at Linlithgow, in 1603, discussions took place respecting the growth of popery, and the means of preventing papists from holding any office of trust or authority; for, though the bishops, as lately hinted, exerted at this time a complete sway over our ecclesiastical judicatories, the catholic faith was not less obnoxious to them than to their more rigid presbyterian brethren. A supplication on this subject was drawn up, to be submitted to James, to whom five commissioners were appointed to go to London to present it. These were, the celebrated Spottiswood, the Earl of Wigton, Lord Kilsyth, William Cowper, and James Nisbet, burgess of Edinburgh.†

In 1616 an act for drawing up a liturgy for the episcopal church of Scotland was passed by the assembly which met at Aberdeen; and several learned divines, “Bishop Cowper being designed the chief,” were appointed to effect this work. ‡

* Spottiswood's *History*, 439, 446. Calderwood's *Hist. of the Church*, 394. *Life of Melville*, ii. 95, et seqq. •

† Spottiswood's *Hist.* 506. Calderwood's *Hist.* 595.

‡ *Life of Spottiswood*, prefixed to his *History*.

The following circumstance forms an interesting and amiable feature in the character of Cowper. James having, in 1617, resolved to visit Scotland, from which he had been absent for fourteen years, issued orders to repair the royal chapel, and sent English carpenters, with portraits of the apostles to be erected in it. The serious part of the community immediately took the alarm. A report that images were to be introduced, and that, ere long, they would have the mass, began to circulate, and gained general belief. Cowper, who, as bishop of Galloway, was dean of the chapel, and who always, it cannot be denied, showed a deep sympathy with the feelings and quiet of the people, conceived it to be his duty to write to his sovereign, representing the agitation which such a step would necessarily occasion among his Scottish subjects. To this letter he procured the signatures of several prelates, and of the ministers of Edinburgh. The application was not unsuccessful; for, though James was dissatisfied with it, and alleged that it resulted from ignorance and bigotry, and even threatened to bring with him some English Doctors to enlighten their minds, yet he forthwith laid aside his original intention respecting the portraits, thus removing every cause of disgust and provocation.*

Cowper was not destined to attain to advanced years, for he died in Edinburgh, on the 15th of February 1619, at the age of fifty-one. During his last illness, which continued several weeks, he wrote an account of his life, to obviate the misrepresentations that had gone abroad respecting him; and the serious and pious nature of his conversation, and the fervour of his devotional exercises, strikingly proved that his latter end was that of the righteous. He was buried on the south side of the New Greyfriars' church, where the monument over his grave is still to be seen: his funeral was attended by the lords of the privy council, and by the magistrates of the city; and a sermon was delivered on the occasion, by Archbishop Spottiswood.†

* Spottiswood's *History*, 530. Cook's *History of the Church*, ii. 26. Rowe's *MS. History*, 126.

† *Life of Cowper*, prefixed to his works. Calderwood's *History*, 721.

If Spottiswood and other writers may be believed, the cause of his death is much to be deplored. "By their libels and pamphlets," the presbyterians, according to this prelate, attacked the bishop of Galloway, so "that he, taking the business more to heart than was needful, fell into a sickness, whereof he deceased."* Nor did this abuse terminate with his life; his memory has been loaded with abuse; and even an eminent writer of the present day has not hesitated to prostitute his pen in reviving and perpetuating the slander.† That part of his history which gave rise to these attacks, we must endeavour, in order to estimate his character aright, to examine and appreciate.

The sentiments of Cowper, with respect to ecclesiastical polity, must indeed have undergone a total revolution ere he ventured to accept episcopal honours. Educated in the principles of presbytery, and officiating for many years as a presbyterian minister, he was much attached to the tenets, and simple but solemn form of worship which that polity prescribed. Nor was his dislike of episcopacy less remarkable than his partiality for the church of which he was a member. At so recent a period as 1606, we find him associated with Andrew Melville, and other distinguished individuals, in a determined resistance to the establishment of the episcopal form of worship. In the same year he thus addressed an old acquaintance, who, having forsaken the presbyterian cause, had accepted of a bishoprick :

* The same thing is insinuated by Calderwood :—"When Cowper accepted a bishoprick, he set forth an *Apologie*, to purge himself of covetousness and ambition, and gave reasons wherefore he changed his mind. *He was so vext with answers, that he threw some of them into the fire, and would not look upon them.* Mr. David Home of Godscroft pressed him with a reply to his answer, whereupon Cowper published his *Dikaiologie*, answering only to such passages as pleased him."—P. 648. The full title of this work is *the Bischope of Galloway, his Dikaiologie, containing a just defence of his former appology against the imputations of Mr. David Home.* Lond. 1614. pp. 183.—To which is added, *A view of church government best warranted by the word; and a short answer to the tripartite antiapologie of some nameless authors.*

† Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, iii. 144.

“Your course,” says he, “wherein you are entered, I never loved; although the fruit you enjoy be sweet, yet the end shall prove it never grew on the tree of life.” And at one time he “not very decently compared bishops to coals and candles, that not only light, but have a filthy smell in all men’s noses.”*

That this change of sentiments originated in ambition or covetousness, neither charity nor his own direct declaration will permit us to believe. That he was a man devoid of piety and principle, none will affirm who are at all acquainted with his life, or who have read his works. His conversion, it must, however, be confessed, is extremely obnoxious to suspicion. All history bears testimony to the fact, that to espouse a cause, and adopt principles which at one time we violently opposed, and regarded as subversive of our dearest rights and privileges, is seldom entitled to the praise of candour, particularly when the change is accompanied with riches, dignity and power. The account, however, which, on his death-bed, Cowper himself gives of this important event, surely claims very serious consideration.

“Now, about this time,” says he, “God had opened to me a door, and called me to the charge of the churches in Galloway, in the south-west part of this kingdom; for being named with others by the General Assembly of such as they thought it meet to be preferred to the Christian dignity (whereof I ever acknowledged myself not worthy,) and recommended by the fathers of our church, it was his Majesty’s pleasure to present me to that benefice, due to the office whereunto the church had called me. God knows that this was done without my knowledge, or seeking, directly or indirectly; for I could have been contented all my days with a private life, resolving to give honour and obedience in God to such as were called to these places, after that it was once established by order in our church, and I had considered the lawfulness, antiquity, and necessity of it among us.

“Here,” continues he, “I was neither guilty of ambition, nor of any precipitate embracing of it; for, between the date of

* Spottiswood’s *History*, 506. Calderwood’s *History*, 527, 531, 549. Row’s *MS. History*, 127.

his Majesty's presentation and my acceptance, there intervened eighteen weeks."

Such is his account, which we shall leave without comment to the judgment of the reader; but it may be recorded to his honour, in opposition to the express declaration of his enemies, that, during his connexion with the diocese in question, there was no instance of cruelty or persecution,—no attempt to make encroachments on the civil rights and religious privileges of the people. "Cowper," says an undoubted judge, "was an amiable man. Though he altered his opinion, and became a bishop, he uniformly shewed much moderation, and was guided by sincere attachment to the best interests of religion."* "In this my calling," says he, alluding to his connexion with Galloway, "how I have walked, and what my care was to advance the gospel there, I trust I shall not, nor yet do want witnesses." These are his dying words, and a death-bed is not the place for hypocrisy or prevarication.

His writings, which are all theological, and are very numerous, consist of Sermons, short religious treatises, and a Commentary on the Book of Revelation. They were originally given to the world by himself in a separate form; but, in 1623, they were collected and published in London in one large volume, extending to 1122 folio pages; and such was the estimation in which they were held, that, at the end of six years, another impression was found necessary. To both these editions a memoir of the author, written by himself, was prefixed, with an account of his last illness, by the hand of a friend.

His works display abilities of no ordinary kind. His pulpit discourses are characterised by a degree of fancy, of fervour, and of pathos which must have made them, at the time they were delivered, powerful instruments of persuasion and instruction, and may still render them eminently useful to the theological student, as well as to the private Christian. His illustrations are striking and appropriate, and not seldom ingenious

* Cook's *Hist. of the Church*, ii. 269.

and original ; but are so fully and clearly evolved, as to make them intelligible to the weakest intellect. Of these remarks, the lecture on the parable of the prodigal son affords no slender confirmation. His style is peculiarly happy : equally removed from vulgarity and declamation, the overwhelming vices of the age, it is simple, nervous, copious, and often elegant, such as would not have disgraced a writer of the beginning of last century. “ The residence of Cowper in England, during some years of the early part of his life, may have given him that command of the English language by which his writings are distinguished.”*

The Commentary on the Revelation, his largest work, is of itself sufficient to perpetuate his name. Though expositions of this sublime and interesting part of the sacred volume, have been composed by some of our most eminent writers, the treatise of Cowper will, we think, be found inferior to none of them in ingenuity, in soundness of judgment, and in biblical learning. For entering on an analysis of this work, we neither have space, nor do we reckon ourselves perfectly qualified ; but we cannot conclude this sketch without submitting to the reader the recommendatory lines from the pen of Drummond of Hawthornden, *On my Lord of Galloway, his learned Commentary on the Revelation* :

To this admir'd discoverer give place,
Ye who first tam'd the sea, the windes out-ranne,
And match'd the dayes bright coachman in your race,
Americus, Columbus, Magellan.

It is most true that your ingenious care
And well-spent paines, another world brought forth ;
For beasts, birds, trees, for gemmes and metals rare,
Yet all being earth, was but of earthly worth.

He a more precious world to us descryes,
Rich in more treasure than both Ind'ees containe

Faire in more beauty than men's wit can faime,
 Whose sunne not sets, whose people never dyes.
 Earth shall your browes deck with still verdant bayes,
 But heaven crowne his with starres immortal rayes.

ANDREW LAMB succeeded Cowper in the see of Galloway. His first settlement in the church was at Burtisland; and in 1606, he was promoted to the bishoprick of Brechin. He was one of those who, on the death of Elizabeth, accompanied James VI. to England, and, as mentioned in speaking of Gavin Hamilton, was one of the three prelates that received consecration at London. He was a member of the High Commission; but showed little intolerance in his own diocese. He died in 1634. From the following epigram, it appears that he was blind.*

Lanmius astrorum spoliatus lumine, lucem
 Qua se, quaque Deum conspiciet, intus habet.

THOMAS SYDSERFF, who succeeded him, was son of Sydserrf of Ruchlaw, an ancient family, originally styled of that ilk, of whom one is a subscriber to Bagimont's Roll, in 1296. The family of Ruchlaw is still extant in Haddington, their original seat. The subject of this note was tutor to the first Earl of Traquair, a nobleman who rose to the dignity of High Treasurer of Scotland.† Sydserrf's subsequent promotion in the church, may have been principally owing to his connexion with this distinguished person; to whose interests he, under every circumstance, remained firmly attached. He became a clergyman; and his first appointment in the church was in Edinburgh, his charge being that of the College Church, which he held for a short time conjunctly with Henry Rollock, nephew to Principal Rollock. He early imbibed those Arminian principles which were so obnoxious to the great body of the Scottish people, and became subservient to all the illiberal and injudicious measures of Laud. The violence by which he was afterwards distinguished, he had begun to display ere he was invested with the mitre. Henry Charters, Professor of Divi-

* *Arturi Johnstoni Epigr.—Delit. Poet. Scot. i. 622.*

† Crawford's *Officers of State*, 406.

nity, having died in 1629, Sydserff and John Maxwell, (afterwards bishop of Ross.) endeavoured to get a person of Arminian doctrine, "who had glutted in all the erroures of that time," appointed his successor. This attempt, however, was completely defeated: but Sydserff soon met with his reward. He was elevated to the see of Brechin, and soon afterwards to that of Galloway. He erected a High Commission Court in his new diocese, composed of his own creatures; and exercised his authority against presbyterians in the most arbitrary manner. It was by him that the famous Rutherford was ejected from his living in the parish of Anwoth and confined to Aberdeen. He seems not to have been more unpopular in Galloway than throughout the kingdom. "The bishop of Galloway was like to have received injury in Stirling: but the magistrates saw to him. In his return to Falkirk, the wives railed and stoned him with stones, and were some of them punished. Also at Dalkeith, upon Sunday, the wives so railed upon him, that the treasurer, [Lord Traquair, his former pupil,] put two of them in prison. The bishop is in great fear and danger."* This unpopularity arose in a great measure from his alleged leaning to popery, not from his high episcopal principles. He was supposed to wear upon his breast a crucifix of gold. "After some quarrelling of him for his crucifix and clamours," some women attacked him on the streets of Edinburgh; and it was with difficulty he was rescued by Traquair and others out of their hands.† A few doggrel stanzas on the bishops of Scotland, written while Sydserff was in Galloway, have been preserved among Wodrow's valuable MS. collections; and in them he is thus spoken of:—

"A papist thou art, Galloway; in heaven thou'lt never dwell;
Thy crooked feet and fiery head will cause thee march to hell:"

lines which, among other things, convey to us some idea of his personal appearance.

Sydserff was deposed and excommunicated by the Assembly

* Baillie's *Letters*, i. 31.

† *Ib.* 20.—Guthrie's *Memoirs*, 28.

of Glasgow in 1638. He then retired to England. He seems to have attended the royal forces, hoping, through them, to witness the restoration of his order in Scotland.* While in the south, he superintended the publication of a posthumous work, composed by his friend Dr. William Forbes, the first bishop of Edinburgh.† To this work is prefixed a life of the author. The editor's designation is T. G. [Thomas, bishop of Galloway,] which Dr. Irving has supposed to point out Dr. Thomas Gale;‡ but that the opinion of this learned writer is erroneous, is evident from Baillie, who distinctly mentions Sydserff as the editor.§ The only other instance in which we find him in the character of an author, is in *The Muses' Welcome*, where are two short Latin poems, bearing the signature of *Thomas Synserffus*.

On the Restoration Sydserff was the only surviving bishop in Scotland, and expected to be elevated to the primacy. But the base conduct of Sharp had given him paramount claims; and the subject of this sketch was nominated to the see of Orkney. "He lived," says Burnet, "little more than a year after his translation. He had died in more esteem, if he had died a year before it."|| "He was, after all," says the same author, "a very learned and good man; but strongly heated in those matters, * * of which I know Sydserff made great acknowledgments in his old age."¶ Mr. William Annand, who preached his funeral sermon, insisted "with much parade on his sufferings for the sake of the gospel!"

Sydserff married a daughter of John Byres of Coates, "late dean of guild, a prime counsellor, and good patriot."** He had a large family; of whom one was a physician, another

* Rutherford's *Letters*, Part iii. 53.

† This work is entitled, *Considerationes Modestae et Pacificae Controversiarum, de Justificatione, Purgatorio, Invocatione Sanctorum et Christo Mediatore, Eucharistia. Per Gulielmum Forbesium, S. T. D. et Epis. Edin. primum.* Lond. 1658. 8vo.

‡ Irving's *Lives*, i. 138.

§ *Letters*, ii. 426.

|| *History of his own Times*, i. 191.

¶ *Ib.* ib. 33.

** Crawford's *Hist. of the Univ. of Edin.* 115.

married to the representative of the ancient family of Kilkerran, and a third was the author of the first newspaper that this country could boast of. This paper was called *Mercurius Caledonius; comprising the affairs in agitation in Scotland, with a survey of foreign intelligence*. It was a small 4to. of eight pages; was published weekly; and extended only to ten numbers. It was begun on the 31st of December 1660, and terminated on the 28th of March 1661.

It was, in truth, the first paper of really Scottish origin; though Cromwell had some years before printed a newspaper. This celebrated man carried a printing press with him; and through Christopher Higgins, whom he brought to Scotland for the express purpose, he printed at Leith in 1652, *A Diurnal of some passages and affairs*; and in 1653, *Mercurius Politicus*. The last was first printed at Leith; but afterwards at Edinburgh. It continued till the Restoration, when it was changed into *Mercurius Publicus*. At the Revolution, and for ten years afterwards, there was not, it may be stated, a newspaper printed in Scotland; but at the Union we could boast of no fewer than three.*

JAMES HAMILTON, who was promoted to this see in 1661, was brother to the first Lord Belhaven. So early as 1634 he had been settled minister of Cambusnethan; a situation which he contrived to retain, amid all the ecclesiastical vicissitudes of that period, until the Restoration. In reference to this accommodating and temporizing disposition, Bishop Burnet remarks, "Hamilton was good natured, but weak; he was always believed episcopal; yet he had so far complied in the time of the covenant, that he affected a peculiar expression of his counterfeit zeal for their cause, to secure himself from suspicion. When he gave the sacrament he excommunicated all that were not true to the covenant, using a form in the Old Testament, of shaking out the lap of his gown; saying, so did he cast out of the church and covenant all that dealt falsely in

* Chalmers's *Life of Ruddiman*, 117—9. Lond. 1794, 8vo.

the covenant.* “His gifts,” says Wodrow, “were reckoned every way ordinary; but he was remarkable for his cunning time-serving temper.”†

At the Restoration, Bishop Sydserrff being the only Scottish prelate alive, and Charles II. having then re-established episcopacy in Scotland, James Hamilton, Sharp, afterwards archbishop of St. Andrews, and Fairfoul, afterwards of Glasgow, were summoned to London, and received episcopal consecration. Having undergone this ceremony, they were thus rendered qualified to give ordination at home to those who might be promoted to the vacant sees.

Hamilton, having died in 1674, was succeeded by JOHN PATERSON, dean of Edinburgh, and son to the bishop of Ross. He was, first, minister of Ellon, Aberdeenshire, then of the Tron Church of Edinburgh, and afterwards dean of that city. In 1674, he was created bishop of Galloway, a situation which he held for nearly five years, when he obtained the see of Edinburgh. During the time of his connexion with Galloway, he was created a member of the privy council, and his name was added to the committee for public affairs. His last translation, which took place in 1607, was to the archiepiscopal chair of Glasgow, of which he was deprived by the Revolution. At this period, he opposed the forfeiture of the crown, and in the Convention of Estates, strenuously supported the government of the expatriated king. He died at Edinburgh in the month of December 1708.‡

ARTHUR ROSS, bishop of Argyle, was Paterson's successor in the see of Galloway, which he did not hold much more than a month, when he obtained the archbishoprick of Glasgow.

JAMES AIKEN, or AITKEN, a person of no ordinary degree of distinction, was promoted to this vacant bishoprick. He was son to the sheriff of Orkney, and was born in Kirkwall in

* Burnet's *Own Times*, i. 190, 1.

† Wodrow's *History*, i. 237, ed. 1828.

‡ *Register of Burials in Abbey Church, Holyrood.*

1613. Having previously attended the University of Edinburgh, he removed to Oxford in 1637, where he studied divinity under the celebrated Dr. Prideaux. Aiken was chosen chaplain to the Duke of Hamilton, when appointed Lord High Commissioner to the famous assembly which met at Glasgow in 1638,—a situation of which he discharged the duties so well, that on his return to London, he was presented to the church of Birsay in his native county. When the Duke of Montrose landed in the north of Scotland, the presbytery, of which Aiken was a member, issued a proclamation, expressing their determination to maintain their allegiance, and to use every means in their power to promote the royal cause. This was a step which the state of feeling then prevalent in Scotland could not brook. The general assembly, at that time sitting in Edinburgh, passed sentence of deposition against the whole presbytery, and, in addition to this, excommunicated Aiken, because the proclamation had been drawn up by him, and because he had had a conference with Montrose himself. Nor was this spirit confined to the clergy. The privy council, animated by the same feelings, issued an order for apprehending him; but Aiken, having obtained private intelligence of his danger from his relation Archibald Primrose, lord register, fled into Holland, where he remained till 1653, when, venturing to return to Scotland, he resided in Edinburgh in a private capacity until the Restoration.

When this event took place, so pregnant with ills to the presbyterian church of Scotland, he went to London, in company with Thomas Sydserff, to congratulate his Majesty. At this period, Aiken obtained the rectory of Winfrith in Dorsetshire; and, in 1677, was elected and consecrated bishop of Moray, “to the great rejoicing,” says Wood, “of the episcopal party;”* and, in three years afterwards, was thence translated to the see of Galloway. Now of an advanced age, he obtained “a dispensation to reside at Edin-

* Wood's *Athena Oxon.* ii. 685.

burgh, because it was thought unreasonable to oblige a reverend prelate of his years to live among such a rebellious and turbulent people, as those of his diocese were, the effect of whose fiery zeal hath too frequently appeared in affronting, beating, robbing, wounding, and sometimes murdering the curates.”*

This worthy prelate, however, ventured to pay a visit to the “rebellious” people of his diocese. That he was not “murdered” by them is sufficiently evident; for his death took place some time afterwards in Edinburgh; and, though anxious to blacken the character of presbyterians, his party has not condescended to inform us, whether he was “affronted, beat, robbed, or wounded.” He died in 1677, at the advanced age of seventy-four. His epitaph was written by Dr. Pitcairn.

His character is entitled to considerable praise. His principles, both political and ecclesiastical, were indeed of an arbitrary and intolerant kind. But the friends with whom he acted, speak favourably of his talents and piety; and when James proposed to annul the penal laws, he, seeing the dangerous design the king had in view, had the boldness and honesty, notwithstanding his usual deference to royal authority, to oppose the measure. Unable, from old age and sickness, to walk, he was carried to the Scottish Parliament, where he publicly declared his total disapprobation of it; and he also used his influence with the nobility and gentry to the same effect.†

Aiken may, in some respects, be regarded as the last bishop of Galloway; for JOHN GORDON, who succeeded him, and was consecrated at Glasgow in February 1688, probably never visited his people; and, at least in the end of that year, following the fortunes of his infatuated monarch, who forfeited his throne, he forsook Britain for ever, and retired to St. Germain, where he afterwards continued to reside. He read the liturgy of the church of England to those protestants who resorted to him,

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* ii. 685. † *Ib.* *ib.*

and expressed a desire to join in that service. William, Prince of Orange, landed in Britain on the 5th of November 1688; and in April of the following year, prelacy was abolished, and presbytery finally established as the national church of Scotland.

A

CHAPTER VI.

REFORMATION.—LIVES OF MACBRAY AND WELSH.

THE ecclesiastical and literary history of a nation is intimately connected. This is the case in a peculiar manner with the province of Galloway; for a great majority of the scholars of whom she can boast have been of the sacred profession.—As in the foregoing chapters of this work, the literary and ecclesiastical notices have been indiscriminately blended, so, as we proceed, we shall have occasion to advert to the history of the Reformation, and of the protestant cause.

The doctrines of the Reformation obtained, at a very remote period, a footing in Galloway. These doctrines Gordon of Earlston had the honour of introducing into this province. Some of the disciples of Wickliffe, eager to expose the corruption and dangerous tendency of the papal faith, and to dissolve the magic spell with which that faith enchained the faculties and consciences of mankind, itinerated to Scotland in that work of piety and benevolence. The family of Earlston, not only became converts to their principles, but received them into their house, and afforded them safety and protection; and had in their possession a copy of the New Testament in the vulgar language, which was read at *secret* meetings, held in a wood in the neighbourhood.*

The reformed opinions of Wickliffe, thus imbibed, and promoted by one of the most powerful families in Galloway, could

* At this time the use of the sacred volume was confined to the clergy.

not fail to spread very rapidly through the whole extent of it. It may, without hesitation, be asserted, that before the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton, which took place on the last day of February 1528, the Gallovidians had completely abjured the catholic faith, and adopted those sentiments, for which that illustrious man perished in the flames.

As connected with this period, JOHN MACBRAY, or MACBRAIR, deserves to be commemorated. He is termed by historians a gentleman of Galloway, without having the particular place of his birth specified. This omission of our early writers cannot now be rectified, but I think it not improbable that he was a native of the parish of Irongray, where the name was once common. Immediately on the death of Hamilton, whom all the nation regarded as a martyr, the reformed doctrines, being eagerly examined and subjected to the test of revelation, began to be rapidly disseminated. The most vigorous measures were adopted for checking their progress. The fires of martyrdom were kindled, and many, of whom our church has still reason to boast, were committed to the flames. Others, among whom was Macbray, to preserve their lives, were compelled to exile themselves from their native land.

He fled to England in 1538, where, having become a minister of the English protestant church, he continued till the death of Edward VI. when, having retired to Frankfort, he was appointed preacher to the English congregation of that place.* He was afterwards removed to a charge in Lower Germany; where, says Spottiswood, "he continued the rest of his days:" but Dr. M'Crie has shewn, by many references, that, on the accession of Elizabeth, he returned to England, and that, in 1568, he was inducted to the vicarage of St. Nicholas in Newcastle, where he died in 1584.†

Such is the scanty account we can give of a man who seems to have been distinguished in his day, and whose name is recorded by various writers. Strype, who terms him "an illustrious exile," says, that the most pious and learned protes-

* Spottiswood's *History*, 97.

† *Life of Knox*, i. 359.

tant divines having been selected to preach successively in St. Paul's, Macbray formed one of the number, and officiated there in his turn in 1559.* And Bale, who mentions several of his works, states, that he wrote "elegantly in Latin." † He composed an account of the church of which he was pastor, in Lower Germany; and "some homilies," says Spottiswood, "he left upon the prophecy of Hosea, and an history of the beginning and progress of the English church." ‡

The next name that claims our notice, is that of a man whose memory is associated with one of the most important events of our history—I allude to the famous JOHN WELSH, who was born about the year 1570, and was son to the laird of Collieston, a small estate lying in the parish of Dunscore, Dumfries-shire. § The imprudence and vices of his youth are universally known. At school, he was not more careless when present, than unwilling to attend it; he despised and trampled upon the authority both of parents and teacher; and resolved, at length, to extricate himself from every species of restraint, he abandoned his paternal roof, and associated with a company of gipsies and border freebooters, participating in all their robberies and debaucheries. He was now regarded as sunk into an irretrievable state of depravity; and his parents daily feared to hear of his coming to a premature and ignominious end. Soon, however, experiencing poverty and wretchedness, the unavoidable result of his crimes and irregularities, and feeling, too, it is not improbable, the compunctious visitings of conscience, he ventured to return home; and being, by means of a female relative, introduced to his father, he besought

* Strype's *Annals of the Reign of Elizabeth*, ii. 134.

† *Balei Scriptores Britannicæ*, 229.

‡ *Spottiswood*, and *Life of Knox*, *ut supra*.

§ The source from which I have obtained the substance of the following sketch, (unless when reference is made to other sources,) is a small volume, entitled, *The Life of John Welch*, printed at Edinburgh, 1703. The author of it was Mr. James Kirkton, first minister of Merton, and afterwards one of the ministers of Edinburgh; and who, being married to a relation of Mrs. Welsh, possessed the best means of coming to the knowledge of the circumstances he records.

him, in the tenderest and most penitential manner, to pardon his disobedience; and promised to give, in future, no new cause of grief or of shame. Parental affection could not withstand this appeal. Welsh was immediately restored to the bosom of his family; and, having petitioned permission to study for the church, was removed to college, where he became remarkable, not more for the ardour of his application, than the fervour of his piety. His first settlement in the ministry was at Selkirk, which, on receiving an invitation from Kirkeudbright, he was soon induced to leave, on account of the ignorance, the profanity, and ingratitude of his people.

It was while he held the charge of Kirkeudbright that he composed his celebrated work on the errors of popery. A communication sent by Welsh to a person of the catholic religion, the object of which was to expose the absurd and dangerous tendency of that faith, having fallen into the hands of Gilbert Brown, abbot of Sweetheart, he immediately undertook to refute it in a treatise addressed to Welsh. Welsh, on receiving it, solicited a public disputation on the subject in question; a request which Brown, from a scrupulous regard to his own good name, had the prudence to decline. Welsh, therefore, composed his *Reply*; a work in which he overthrows the arguments of his opponent, head by head separately,—which neither Brown, nor any popish writer has yet attempted to answer,—and which, unquestionably, is one of the most erudite and elaborate treatises of the age in which it was composed. The author displays the most minute acquaintance with the oldest and most rare theological writings, and he analyzes and refutes those that bear against him with a degree of dexterity and talent, to which Brown, learned as he unquestionably was, possessed no claim.* His triumph over his opponent was com-

* The title of this work is,—*A Reply against M. Gilbert Brownne, priest. Wherein is handled many of the greatest and weightiest points of controuersie between vs and the papistes, and the truth of our doctrine clearly proued, and the faset of their religion and doctrine laid open, and most euidentlie conuicted and confuted, by the testimonies of the Scripture and*

plete and undisputed.—“ I have set downe your answere fullie,” says Welsh in his preface, “ and hes answered to every poynt and argument seuerally ; the like, Maister Gilbert, I desire of you, that if ever you can be able to put to your hand to make ane answere, that you set downe me word for word, and answere euerie head and poynt thereof seuerally, as I haue set them downe here, and shew what you graunt, and what you denie in euerie head and argument, as I haue done in yours ; otherwaies I will take it for no answere, bot for a manifest demonstration that ye are conuicted in your conscience of the falset of your owne religion.”—Brown, notwithstanding this challenge, and the humiliating alternative to which it reduced him, thought it proper to maintain silence.

At what period Welsh removed from Kirkeudbright to Ayr, I have not been able to ascertain. It could not have been till towards the end of the year 1599, as the introductory address to Gilbert Brown is dated from Kirkeudbright in August of that year. Of the extent of his zeal and exertions at Ayr, it is almost impossible for us to form any thing like an adequate idea. He preached publicly every day,—was scrupulously faithful in the performance of his other important duties—and uniformly devoted the third part of his time to private prayer and meditation. The presbyterian clergy, indeed, of the 16th and 17th centuries, were all eminently distinguished for ardent and indefatigable activity in holy things. Cowper, when at Perth, in addition to his other duties, preached, as we have already stated, four times a-week ; Samuel Rutherford rose every morning at three o'clock, and after devoting the early part of the day to prayer, meditation, and study, spent the remainder of it in visiting and instructing his people ; and John Livingstone of Stranraer set apart an hour

ancient Fathers ; and also by some of their own popes, doctors, cardinals, and of their own writers. Wherunto is annexed a seuerall treatise concerning the Masse and antichrist. By M. John Welsche, preacher of Christ's Gospell at Aire. Edinburgh, printed by Robert Walde-grave, printer to the King's Maiestie, 1602.—4to. pp. 363. It is dedicated “ to the Right Excellent and Mightie Prince James the 6, King of Scotland.”

every morning, for reading the Bible to his flock, and illustrating it.*

And the success of Welsh was fully in proportion to the extent of his exertions. On his arrival at Ayr, he found the flock over whom he was to preside, not only remarkable for ignorance and profanity, but carrying their abhorrence of sacred things to such an extent that, in their sight, a minister of the gospel was an object worthy only of contempt and hatred. This Mr. Welsh himself experienced when he first came among them; for it was not without difficulty that he could procure a house for himself and his family. This unhappy state of matters he was soon enabled to remove. His indefatigable exertions for the welfare of his people—the mild, yet firm and dignified nature of his private intercourse with them—the solemnity and energy of his public ministrations—and the eminent spiritual mindedness of his own life, soon gained their affection and commanded their esteem.

The circumstances in which our reformed church was now placed, are generally known. James had, for several years before the time at which we are arrived, been gradually smoothing the way for abolishing presbytery, and establishing episcopacy on its ruins. Under various pretexts, he had made infringements on the power and privileges of the General Assembly. Though, by a parliamentary decision, this judicatory was directed to be held annually, and a determinate rule laid down for fixing the particular day and place of meeting, yet James had succeeded in obviating that enactment; and though the assembly which was held at Holyroodhouse in 1602, came to a resolution that this court should henceforth be kept according to the act of Parliament—a resolution which the king himself, who was present, agreed to; yet the assembly, which was appointed to meet at Aberdeen in 1604, he prorogued until the month of June of the following year. But his Majesty did not stop here. His object was not merely to make encroachments on the privileges of this court, but to destroy its

* The Lives of Rutherford and Livingstone in this work.

existence. Accordingly, the assembly which himself had fixed to take place at Aberdeen in 1605, he not only prorogued, but mentioned no other time for its meeting. This tyrannical conduct, which was striking at the very root of the presbyterian cause, alarmed the whole nation. The ministers were compelled to exert themselves, unless they meant to surrender their privileges for ever. And nine presbyteries resolved to send representatives to Aberdeen, with instructions, however, merely to constitute the assembly, and to appoint a day for its next meeting. Of these representatives Welsh was one. John Forbes, minister of Alford, was chosen moderator. While they were employed in reading a letter delivered to them by Straiton, the king's commissioner, from the lords of the privy council, a messenger-at-arms entered, and charged them, in the king's name, to dissolve the meeting on pain of rebellion. With this request the ministers seemed quite ready to comply, and only solicited that the royal commissioner should appoint the time and place for next meeting. This being refused, the moderator nominated it to be held at the same place on the last Tuesday of September ensuing, and dissolved the meeting by prayer. The commissioner, afraid lest the indecision he had shown in allowing, as he did, the assembly to be held at all, or in seeming to recognise its lawfulness or competency, might expose him to the resentment of the prelates and of the king, is supposed to have given a very distorted account of the whole proceedings to his majesty. He declared, that on the day previously to the meeting, he had forbidden it by a public proclamation at the cross of Aberdeen. Of the falsehood of this assertion, no person now entertains a doubt; not only the ministers had not heard this proclamation, but none could be produced who were present when it was delivered. "And it is universally believed," says Dr. M'Crie, "that he had ante-dated his proclamation, to conciliate the king and his court-ministers, who were offended at him for the countenance he had given to the meeting."*

* *Life of Melville*, ii. 201.

We cannot withhold our applause from the manner and spirit in which this assembly was held. "The question at issue, between the court and the ministers, amounted to this, whether they were to be ruled by law, or by the arbitrary will of the prince—whether royal proclamations were to be obeyed, when they suspended statutes enacted by the joint authority of king and parliament? This question came afterwards to be debated in England, and was ultimately decided by the establishment of the constitutional doctrine, which confines the exercise of royal authority within the boundaries of law. But it cannot be denied, and it must not be forgotten, that the ministers of Scotland were the first to avow this rational and salutary doctrine, at the expense of being denounced and punished as traitors; and that their pleadings and sufferings in behalf of ecclesiastical liberty, set an example to the patriots of England. In this respect complete justice has not been done to their memory; nor has expiation been made for the injuries done to the cause which they maintained, by the slanderous libels against them, which continue to stain the pages of English history."*

This manly and dignified conduct of the assembly, however, James, in the frenzy of his zeal for the hierarchy, and for his prerogative, could not forgive. Orders were immediately issued to proceed with the most unrelenting rigour against the ministers who had thus dared to act in opposition to his authority. They were accordingly apprehended; and fourteen of them, having resolved to defend the propriety of their conduct, were committed to different prisons. Forbes and Welsh, considered as leaders, were lodged in separate cells in the castle of Blackness. These two, with four others, when brought before the privy council, declined the authority of that tribunal, as incompetent to judge in a cause purely ecclesiastical, and which could only be decided by the judicatory of the church. This behaviour, coupled with the high crime of which they were originally charged, could not be overlooked. They were serv-

* *Life of Melville*, ii. 203.

ed with an indictment to stand trial for high treason, on the 10th of January 1606, before the Court of Justiciary at Linlithgow. This trial is one of the most infamous and tyrannical that ever disgraced a court. The charge of treason, which consisted in the mere circumstance of having given in a declination against the jurisdiction of the privy council, was founded on a law which, as far as respected ecclesiastical matters, was disabled by a subsequent enactment. His majesty condescended to exercise all the influence he could command to convict the prisoners. The Earl of Dunbar, his favourite, was despatched to Scotland for that purpose; and when the jury seemed reluctant to bring in a verdict of guilty, the king's advocate, worthy of the occasion, threatened them with the royal displeasure if they allowed the pannels to escape; and the judges prostituted the dignity of their office, by promising that no punishment should be inflicted on them, provided a verdict was delivered agreeable to his majesty. The result may thus easily be anticipated. Notwithstanding the justness of their cause,—the able defence of their counsel,—and the impressive and energetic speeches of Forbes and Welsh, a verdict was at length brought in, finding them guilty of treason.—“But it ought to be recorded,” to use the animated words of Dr. Cook, “that although the most indecent means were employed to influence the jury,—although they were even threatened to be prosecuted as traitors, if they hesitated to bring in the verdict demanded by the servants of the crown,—six of the fifteen composing it voted that the ministers were innocent; and one of them nobly said, that he not only absolved them from the crime of treason, but regarded them as faithful servants to Christ, and good subjects to the king.”*

From policy, however, or out of respect to the voice of the nation, the punishment of death, which the law awards to traitors, was not inflicted on them; but, after fourteen weeks' imprisonment, they were banished to France. The scene of their

* Cook's *Hist. of the Church*, ii. 168. *Criminal Trials*, ii. 494—502, edited by Robert Pitcairn, W.S., a work of great importance and merit, which does honour to the research and public spirit of its enlightened editor.

departure was extremely interesting and striking. Their fate had excited the deepest sympathy and pity, and a vast multitude assembled on the shore of Leith to bid them a last adieu. Mr. Welsh offered up, on the occasion, a most pathetic and impressive prayer; and, after having sung the twenty-third psalm, the ministers tore themselves away, and most of them were doomed never to return. The populace were much moved; and implored, in the most fervent manner, the Divine Being for their welfare and happiness.

It may not be improper to mention, that Welsh, while at Kirkcudbright, had married Elizabeth Knox, daughter to our illustrious reformer. This lady inherited a portion of her father's spirit. She attended her husband, while in confinement, and was present at Linlithgow, with the wives of the other prisoners, on the day of trial. These heroines, instead of giving themselves up to unavailing sorrow and despondency, seem to have possessed that firmness and fortitude which the occasion required. They blessed God that their husbands were endowed with courage to maintain the cause of Christ through shame and through suffering, and that, like him, they had been tried and condemned under the darkness of night.*

Welsh, on his arrival in France, applied with so much ardour to the study of the language of the country, that, in about fourteen weeks, he was able to preach in it. He was first settled minister of a protestant congregation at Nerac, from whence he was afterwards removed to St. Jean d'Angely, a town of Lower Charente, where he continued to labour in the work of the ministry until a short time before he left that country.

The following extraordinary circumstances must not be passed over in silence. In the war which, in 1620, Lewis XIII. king of France, waged against his protestant subjects, St. Jean d'Angely was besieged by his majesty in person. Welsh, who assured the magistrates that God would deliver them, not only encouraged his fellow-citizens by his exhortations, but ascended the walls, and resolutely assisted in defending the garrison. The siege terminated in a way highly gra-

* *Life of Knox*, ii 269—74.

tifying to the defenders. A treaty was concluded, by which the full and free exercise of their religious principles was secured them, and the king was to be allowed to enter the town in a friendly manner with his troops. A law at that time existed in France, that, wherever the king resided, there should be no public exercise of any form of worship different from that which he adopted; and accordingly, the magistrates of St. Jean d'Angely requested Mr. Welsh to forbear preaching on the ensuing Sabbath. "It is making," says Welsh, with his characteristic firmness, "no good requital to God for your delivery to hinder his worship; for my part, except I am violently hindered, I will go to the public place, and preach to any that come;—and if none come, I will go home and bewail the miseries that are coming upon you." This resolute conduct was productive of the happiest effects. Not only was there a greater meeting than on any former occasion, but many persons of the catholic religion, who belonged to the royal troops, were among the number of his hearers. The king hearing of the determination of Welsh, and offended at his presumption, despatched the Duke d'Esperon, with some of the guard, to bring him from the pulpit into his presence. When Welsh saw the duke enter the church with an armed guard, he was not intimidated. Making a pause in his discourse, he ordered a seat to be set for the Marshal of France,—and "commanded him, in the name of God, whose servant he was, not to disturb his worship." The duke, struck with the dignity of Welsh, and the air of authority with which he spoke, involuntarily obeyed his "commands," and listened to the sermon with decorum and seriousness. When the services of the church were over, the duke brought him before the king, who demanded of him "how he durst preach, it being against the law to do it so near the king?" "If your majesty," replied Welsh, "knew what I preach, you would command others, and come yourself to hear it; for I preach salvation by Jesus Christ; and I am sure your own conscience tells you that your own works will never merit salvation to you;—I preach that there is none on the earth above you, which none of those

about you that adhere to the pope will say." This unexpected reply so pleased the king, that he exclaimed, "*Very well; you shall be my minister,*"—addressed him by the name of *Father*, and promised him his protection. And circumstances soon occurred to try the faith of his majesty's promise. St. Jean d'Angely having been besieged and taken the subsequent year, Lewis ordered M. de Vitry, one of his generals, to plant a guard at Mr. Welsh's house, that he might receive no injury; and soon afterwards, himself and his family were conveyed, at his majesty's expense, to Rochelle.*

Welsh was not yet far advanced in years; but from the length of his confinement in Scotland, the exertions he had made as a minister of the Gospel, and the various calamities of his life, his constitution now began to fail him, and symptoms of a pulmonary nature were visible. Being told by his physicians, that the only chance he could have of prolonging his life, was to breathe his native air, he repaired to Campvere in Zealand, from which he sent supplications to the British king, for permission to return to Scotland. He only, however, obtained leave to return to London; nor would he be allowed to visit his native land, unless he gave his approbation of the ecclesiastical polity then established there. For extorting this submission, Dr. John Young, his majesty's chaplain, waited on him, and conversed with him on the subject. His principles, however, had been too long cherished, and too deeply rooted, to be easily shaken; he spurned every compromise of them, or the most indirect approval of prelacy; he had all his life suffered in opposing arbitrary and corrupt measures, and had never yet regretted the part he had acted; he had not hesitated to confront death, when at the very meridian of his days; and it was not to be expected, that now he would endeavour to

* Livingstone's *Remarkable Observations upon the Lives of the most eminent Ministers and Professors in the Church of Scotland*. MS. Adv. Library, article *Mr. John Welsh*. Livingstone informs us, that he got his information from Lord Kennure, who, at the time to which we refer, was lodged in Mr. Welsh's house. See also *Introduction to Rutherford's Survey of the spiritual Antichrist*. Lond. 1648.

purchase a few years of precarious existence, by abandoning or betraying a cause which he had identified with the glory of God, and with the temporal and eternal interests of mankind. Nor was this inflexibility and faithfulness confined to Welsh himself. His amiable wife was distinguished by the same spirit. This lady, having obtained access to his majesty, petitioned him to grant her husband liberty to return to his native country. James replied, that if she would persuade him to submit to episcopal authority, permission should be given him. Mrs. Welsh, lifting up her apron, and holding it towards the king, answered in a spirit worthy of her father and her husband; "Please your majesty, I'd rather kep [receive] his head there."*

The termination of his life was characteristic of the tenor of it. James, in opposition to all entreaty, had prohibited him from preaching in London, until he heard that his death could not be far distant. As soon as Welsh was informed of his majesty's resolution, he availed himself of the privilege which it allowed him; and having obtained a pulpit, preached with his usual animation and energy. It was a last and expiring effort, and seems to have hastened his end; for he retired to his chamber, and, within two hours, died without a struggle. This event took place in 1622, in the fiftieth year of his age.

The character of Welsh is peculiarly amiable. From the period of his entering into the ministry, his whole time was devoted to his sacred profession. He has been accused of acrimony and violence, even in the pulpit; but violence and acrimony may almost be forgiven in a man whose party had every day to struggle against power and oppression, and who perceived that nothing could effect the success of their cause, but a full exposure of the base and arbitrary means by which it was endeavoured to be blasted and exterminated. A circumstance of a different nature has also made him the object of much ridicule, namely, that he spent the third part of his time in prayer. We cannot respect those who have brought

* *Life of Knox*, ii. 274.

forward this charge. It may be branded with the epithet of enthusiasm; but it was enthusiasm in a duty which cannot be performed too fully or too well. Inflexibility of purpose and principle, forms the most prominent feature in Welsh's character. This was displayed in every circumstance of his life; and the spirit which, in his youth, when his moral and religious nature was uncultivated, prompted him to trample under foot parental authority, was the very same with that which, under higher guidance, and at a future period of life, animated him to persevere so resolutely in the service of his divine Master, and fearlessly to resist the exercise of arbitrary power.

Of his learned work we have already spoken. He is also the author of various sermons which were at first given to the world separately, but which, after his death, were published in a collected form, and have since formed a favourite book in every district of the south of Scotland.

There is one part of Welsh's history to which I have not yet alluded, namely, that he possessed, or was believed to possess, the gift of prophecy, and the power of working miracles. That he himself laid claim to this distinction, or appealed to it as a proof of the truth of his doctrines and principles, is exceedingly improbable, and has never indeed been asserted. With all his enthusiasm and ardour, he possessed too much judgment and penetration, and was too deeply skilled in the principles and history of Christianity, to advance a claim so absurd and preposterous. The age of which we are speaking, and those that preceded it, were times of credulity and superstition; and in those early days, miraculous gifts was an honour gratuitously paid to the memory of almost every divine, eminent for piety and virtue. This has undoubtedly been the case with Knox and Welsh, and many other individuals. For the truth is, there is no evidence of a miracle having been performed since the days of the apostles. Nor are miracles now necessary. They were at first necessary for proving the divinity of the nature and mission of our Saviour, and for gaining his gospel a reception in the world. But that necessity did not long exist. With the apostles, the miraculous gifts

of the Holy Spirit disappeared. Nor, whatever may have been pretended or believed, have they been imparted to any since that distant period.*

Welsh was the father of three sons; two of whom predeceased him, while the other, though he survived his father about twelve years, died young in 1634. He was minister of Temple-Bar, in the north of Ireland, and was distinguished for piety and zeal in the discharge of his clerical duties. Mr. John Livingstone, who gives him a place among the "eminent ministers" whose worth he so affectionately commemorates, attended him on his death-bed. "I being at prayer," says he, "at his bed-side before him, and the word *victory* coming out of his mouth, he took hold of my hand, and clapped both his hands, and cried out *Victory, victory, victory for evermore!* and then desired me to go on in prayer, and within a short time after he expired."†

He left behind him one son, afterwards minister of Irongray, his grandfather's native parish. He lived during the perilous and bloody reign of Charles II., and being possessed of that ardour of piety and adherence to principle which characterised his forefathers, he endured a large share of the sufferings and persecution of that period. At one time nine thousand merks were promised by the government to any who should apprehend him. He died about the year 1680 in London, whither he had retired after the battle of Bothwell-bridge.‡ Several respectable families of the name of Welsh claim descent either directly or collaterally from the distinguished minister of Ayr, or from the house of Collieston.§

* Chap. i. of this work, 16. *Life of Knox*, ii. 262—7.

† Livingstone's *Remarkable Observations*, MS.152.

‡ Wodrow's *History*, i. 234—ii. 13; *Scotch Worthies*, 70.

§ The house of Collieston seems soon to have terminated in a female. Mary Welsh, wife of William Gordon of Munibuy, is mentioned as "heir" of John Welsh, younger of Collieston, in 1659. *Inq. Retor. Abbrev.* § *Dumfries*.

CHAPTER VII.

LIFE OF SAMUEL RUTHERFORD.

THIS distinguished man was born in the year 1600 in the parish of Nisbet, now annexed to Crailing, in the presbytery of Jedburgh.* His parents, it is supposed, were of the rank of farmers; and he is known to have had at least two brothers, one a schoolmaster in Kirkeudbright, the other an officer in the service of the Dutch. After having received his elementary education either at Nisbet, or Jedburgh, distant about four miles, he entered the college of Edinburgh in 1617, and after going through the usual course of study, took the degree of Master of Arts in 1621. What rank he held in his classes is not told; but we may infer that his progress, particularly in classical literature, was great, from the circumstance that, at the end of two years after his graduation, he was, by comparative trial, elected regent or professor of humanity. There were four candidates; and “although Mr. Will, (one of the masters of the High School,) pleased the judges most for his experience and actual knowledge, yet the whole regents, out of their particular knowledge of Mr. Samuel Rutherford, demonstrated to them his eminent abilities of mind and virtuous disposition, wherein the judges being satisfied, declared him successor in the profession of humanity.”

Though thus honourably elected, he did not continue long

* *The Life of Samuel Rutherford*, written by the present author, was published in 1828, in one volume, 12mo.; to which the reader is referred.

connected with the university. For, having "given some scandal in his marriage," he resigned his charge in the year 1625. Without entering on this unpleasant subject, (which will be found very fully investigated in the *Life of Rutherford* already referred to), we shall merely mention that the name of his wife was Eupham Hamilton; of whom, previous to his marriage, nothing is known. Rutherford, on retiring from the college as a professor, is supposed to have devoted his time to the study of theology, under the celebrated Andrew Ramsay. It is not unlikely, indeed, that he had commenced this study while he officiated as regent of humanity; for the incomes derived from the university were, in these days, so small, that the regents, while they conducted the business of a class, were themselves frequently attending the lectures of the professor of divinity; and they resigned their situations in the college, not merely for livings in the church, but sometimes for grammar-schools. At what period Rutherford received licence as a preacher, we are not told; but in 1627, (two years after he had resigned his place as regent of humanity), he was settled minister of Anwoth, in the presbytery of Kirkcudbright; a living which he obtained through Gordon of Kenmure. Anwoth had not, till this date, been a separate parish, but had been united to Kirkmabreck and Kirkdale, in the latter of which the place of worship stood; nor was there a church in Anwoth till one was built immediately before Rutherford's removal thither.

Whether Rutherford, on his going to Anwoth, received episcopal ordination, and acknowledged episcopal authority, is a question that has often been agitated. It is reasonable to suppose, from the domination to which the bishops were now raised, and which they were not remiss in exercising, that no minister could obtain a charge without acquiescing in all the conditions, and submitting to all the shackles which Episcopacy imposed. There seem, however, from particular circumstances, to have been some deviations from this established practice. And of these the case before us is recorded as one. Mr. M'Ward, the pupil and friend of Rutherford, to whom the

truth must have been well known, unconditionally states, that he entered to his charge "by the means of that worthy nobleman, my Lord Kenmure, without giving any engagement to the bishop." Wodrow corroborates this opinion. And Stevenson mentions, that "untill the beginning of the year 1628, some few preachers, by moyen, [influence,] were suffered to enter the ministry without conformity, and of this number we suppose Mr. Rutherford may be reckoned, because he was ordained before the doors came to be more closely shut upon honest preachers." In corroboration of this opinion, Rutherford himself expressly declares, in a letter from Anwoth, that "the great master-gardener, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in a wonderful providence, planted me here, where, by his grace, in this part of his vineyard I grow." And at another period, he gives it as his decided opinion, that "the lawfull calling of ane pastor to the flock of Christ, requireth the consent, voves, and approbation of the people and presbyterie." The truth, in fine, seems to be, that Andrew Lamb, then bishop of Galloway, and the friend of Kenmure, was induced by that gentleman, and by Lord Kirkcudbright, a zealous Presbyterian, and possessed of great estates in the parish of Anwoth, to relax, in this instance, the authority with which the law invested him, and to connive at the Presbyterian ordination and non-conformity of Rutherford.

Never did any clergyman enter upon his sacred trust under happier auspices, or with more flattering prospects of success. The inhabitants of Anwoth had previously had sermon only every alternate week; a circumstance which they seem deeply to have felt and lamented. "Our soules," they say, "were under that miserable extreame famine of the word, that we had onlie the puir help of any sermone everie second Sabbath."

The doctrines of the gospel had, at this time, obtained a surer footing in Anwoth, and were more assiduously cultivated, than has yet been stated. For under the ministry of William Dalgleish, their former clergyman, (who still continued minister of the united parishes of Kirkmabreck and Kirkdale,) not only the great body of the people, but the proprietors and higher

orders, had embraced these doctrines, and exhibited a correspondent walk and conversation. The landlords, indeed, were all characterised by the same sentiments on the subject of divinity and ecclesiastical polity, that Rutherford himself entertained; sentiments, indeed, that first recommended him to their notice, and that induced them to adopt the steps necessary to his induction as their minister.* He exhibited, in the exercise of his important functions, a degree of industry and zeal that is almost incredible. He was accustomed to rise every morning at three o'clock; the early part of the day he spent in prayer, in meditation, and study; and the remainder of it was devoted to his more public duties—to the visitation of the sick, the afflicted, and the dying, and to the examination and encouragement in godliness of the different families of his congregation. His flock were the cause and objects, he tells us, “of his tears, care, fear, and daily prayers;” he laboured among them “early and late;” and “my witness is above,” he declares to them, “that *your* heaven would be two heavens to *me*, and the salvation of *you* all, as two salvations to *me*.”

Nor were his labours and usefulness confined to the inhabitants of Anwoth. People from many of the neighbouring parishes resorted to his preaching, and in consequence of the paucity of faithful ministers, he was often invited to officiate, and occasionally to dispense the sacrament in the adjoining churches. “He was a great strengthener of all the Christians in that country, who had been the fruits of the ministry of Mr. John Welsh, the time he had been at Kirkcudbright; the whole country indeed, were to him, and accounted themselves as his particular flock.” There were, however, still a few clergymen in this province, such as William Dalgleish of Kirkmabreck, John M'Lellan of Girthon, and Robert Glendinning of Kirkcudbright, who, in spite of every obstacle, continued faithful to presbyterian principles and doctrines. But many parishes were either vacant, or were filled with minions of the bishop;

* Rutherford's stipend consisted of 200 merks Scots, (about £11 Sterling,) derived from the teinds of the parish, and of a voluntary contribution on the heritors.

and as the people, with extremely few exceptions, were decidedly in favour of the tenets, both ecclesiastical and theological, of the non-conformists, they thought no journey too long, and no labour too great, that enabled them to enjoy the ministration of their favourite pastors. Nor was it to the lower orders alone that his services were so welcome and acceptable. Between him and the higher classes also, an intimate Christian connexion obtained. Almost every individual of this rank, in the county in which he lived, had embraced presbyterian doctrines; and we learn, both from his *Letters*, and from the exertions which, as we shall see, they made to retain him in Galloway, when the General Assembly wished to remove him from it, that they regarded him as the minister not merely of the parish over which he more immediately presided, but of the whole province, and as the spiritual teacher, guide, and comforter of each of them.

But eminence and worth, however great, will not exempt from the sorrows and sufferings of humanity; and Rutherford, while he must have been gratified in being the instrument of so much good, and in the esteem and admiration which were so extensively shown him, was doomed to experience deep family distress and bereavement. His wife, after a tedious and severe illness of thirteen months, died in the month of June 1630, in less than five years after their marriage. Her protracted sickness was the source of much anxiety and anguish to him. "My wife's disease," says he in a letter to one of his most valued friends,* "increaseth daily to her great torment and pain, night and day; she had not been in God's house since our communion, neither out of her bed. I have hired a man to Edinburgh to Dr. Jeally and John Hamilton. I can hardly believe her disease is ordinary, for her life is bitter to her; she sleeps none, but cries. * * What will be the event, he that hath the keys of the grave knows." In

* Marion M'Naught, wife to William Fullerton, provost of Kirkcudbright. A short account of Mrs. Fullerton may be found in a note, pp. 63—5. to *The last and Heavenly Speeches of Lord Kenmure*, edited in 1827, by the present author.

another letter to the same friend, "my wife," he observes, "is still in exceeding great torment night and day. Pray for us, for my life was never so wearisome to me. God hath filled me with gall and wormwood ; but I believe, (which holds up my head above the water,) *It is good for a man that he bear the yoke in his youth.*" When her death had taken place, he seems to have borne it with pious resignation, though in no part of his correspondence that is preserved, is the subject particularly alluded to. In a letter to Lady Kennmure, he says, "the Lord hath done it, blessed be his name ;" and four years after the event, he speaks of her as having been "the delight of his eyes," and of the wound which her death had occasioned, as not being "yet fully healed and cured." Even at the end of nine years he uses similar language, and remembers with intense grief the bereaving dispensation with which he had been visited.

This marriage had been productive of children, though, as far as we know, they had all predeceased their mother ; and when bereaved of his wife, Rutherford was left alone without any pledges of their love to engage and interest his affections. And to add to his distress, he had been seized previously to her death with a fever, which continued for thirteen weeks, and which, when it was removed, left him in a state of such debility, that for some time he was able to preach "but once on the Sabbath, with great difficulty," and able neither to visit nor examine his congregation. Amid these afflictions his mother lived with him, having left Nisbet in consequence, it is supposed, of her husband's death, and come to end her days under her son's roof ; but instead of affording him comfort, she seems rather to have added to his anxiety and distress, for she was old and infirm, and apparently following fast her departed relative to the grave. "God knowing my present state, and the necessities of my calling, I hope will spare my mother's life for a time, for the which I have cause to thank my Lord." "My mother is weak, and I think shall leave me alone ; but I am not alone, but Christ's Father is with me." And though she may for a while have survived her daughter-in-law, her death,

we know, took place previously to 1636, when Rutherford was removed from Anwoth. He had a brother, also, at this time a teacher in Kirkeudbright, who frequently visited him. He entertained for him the greatest esteem; and from his sympathy and affection he must have derived much consolation.

His small family circle generally included the only daughter of Mrs. Fullerton (Marion M'Knaught,) of Kirkeudbright; between whom and Rutherford a most intimate and pious connexion subsisted from the time he came to Anwoth, till her death in 1643. "Blessed be the Lord," says he, "that in God's mercy, I found in this country such a woman, to whom Christ is dearer than her own heart, when there be so many that cast Christ over their shoulder." In the spiritual welfare of his young guest, he appears to have placed the deepest interest. "Your daughter," says he, in a letter to Mrs. Fullerton, "desires a Bible and a gown; I hope she shall use the Bible well, which if she do, the gown is the better bestowed." "I am in hopes," he observes in another letter to her mother, "that the seed of God is in her, as in one born of God. * * I have her promise she shall be Christ's, for I have told her she may promise much in his worthy name; for he becomes caution to his Father for all such as resolve and promise to serve him." And the tender regard he thus expressed for the daughter, was extended to the whole of Mrs. Fullerton's family. "I pray for you, with my whole heart and soul, that your children may walk in the truth, and that the Lord may shine upon them, and make their faces to shine, when the faces of others shall blush. I dare promise them in his name whose truth I preach, if they will but try God's service, that they shall find him the sweetest master that ever they served; and desire them from me, but to try for a while the service of this blessed Master, and then, if his service is not sweet, if it afford not what is pleasant to the soul's taste, change him upon a trial, and seek a better. * * If I have any credit with your children, I intreat them in Christ's name, to try what truth and reality is in what I say, and leave not his service till they

have found me a liar. I give you, your husband, and them, to His keeping, to whom I have, and dare venture myself and soul, even to our dear Friend Jesus Christ, in whom I am."

The names of John Gordon of Kennure and his Lady, have already been introduced to the reader. They at first lived at Rusco, in the parish of Anwoth. At the end of two years after his induction, they removed to Edinburgh, where, or at Kennure Castle, twenty miles from Anwoth, they afterwards resided. On their departure, Rutherford bids them "for ever farewell in paper, having small assurance ever to see their face again, till the last General Assembly, when the whole church universal shall meet." Their absence indeed he laments extremely, and regards as the severest trial he had experienced since he entered on his ministry. But he kept up a regular correspondence with them, particularly with Lady Kennure, on religious subjects. He assures them that his constant prayer would be, that the christian graces which they had exhibited might be more and more cultivated and improved. On their return from Edinburgh, and settlement at Kennure castle, he thus addresses her Ladyship:—"I bless our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath brought you home again to your country, from that place where ye have seen with your eyes that which our Lord's truth taught you before, *to wit*, that worldly glory is nothing but a vapour, a shadow, the foam of the water, or something less and lighter, even nothing; and that our Lord hath not without cause said in his word, *the countenance and fashion of this world passeth away.*"

Gordon had meanwhile been elevated to the peerage under the title of Viscount Kennure; and though he still retained the theological and ecclesiastical principles which he had before professed, and in which he had been educated, yet having received such marks of favour from his sovereign, he did not think himself warranted in opposing the measures of the Court relative to the Church; and in consequence, under pretence of indisposition, he withdrew (1633,) from his attendance on Parliament, and retired to his seat in the country. The enactments of this Parliament were as hostile to the Presbyterian

polity as any measures of that house had formerly been ; and though Kenmure did not at first seem impressed with a proper sense of his unmanly dereliction of duty, yet, when he perceived the ruinous tendency of these enactments, his conduct appeared to him in its true light ; he felt the most poignant sorrow and remorse for having proved a traitor to so good a cause ; and on his death-bed, about a year afterwards, “ I have found,” he confessed, “ the weight of the wrath of God for not giving testimony for the Lord my God, when I had occasion once in my life at the last Parliament, for which fault how fierce have I found the wrath of the Lord ! my soul hath raged and roared ; I have been grieved at the remembrance of it. * * For all the world, I would not do as I have done.”

The circumstances connected with the death of this nobleman must not be passed over in silence, both as they are illustrative of the triumph of faith in an eminent Christian, and throwing light on the character of the subject of this narrative. Rutherford had accidentally come to Kenmure Castle at the time his Lordship's disease was beginning to assume an alarming aspect ; and on being entreated to remain, attended him till his death, which took place about a fortnight afterwards, (12th Sept. 1634.) Kenmure rejoiced at the arrival, at so interesting a conjuncture, of a clergyman whom he loved so much, and in whose religious services and conferences he had formerly taken such delight ; and he immediately introduced the subject of his apprehended dissolution. “ I never dreamt,” says he, “ that death had such a terrible, austere, and gloomy countenance. I dare not die ; howbeit, I know I must die.” The minister proceeded with great earnestness and judgment, to show him the sources whence his fear of death took its rise, and to unfold to him the principles and views which, under such circumstances, the gospel inculcates and requires. And notwithstanding some doubts and misgivings, which Rutherford succeeded most effectually in removing, and the interference of a clergyman of less sound views, he accomplished such a happy reformation in the sentiments and hopes of this nobleman, that his death has ever been regarded as conspicuously that of the

righteous. A few minutes before his departure, Rutherford asked him if he should pray. “ He turned his eye to the pastor, not being able to speak. In the time of that last prayer, he was observed joyfully smiling, and looking up with glorious look. * * * The expiring of his breath, the ceasing of the motion of his pulse, corresponded exactly with the Amen of the prayer,—and so he died sweetly and holily, and his end was peace.”

Rutherford lamented the death of his patron in an elegiac poem written in Latin; and in 1649, he published *The Last and Heavenly Speeches, and Glorious Departure, of John Viscount Kenmure*; a work from which the foregoing particulars are obtained, and which contains a minute and interesting detail of the conferences which Rutherford held with that nobleman, on the most important of all subjects,—death and salvation. The narrative is in every point of view most striking; it is given in language distinguished alike for simplicity and pathos; and the discussions which it embraces, are allied more to heaven than to earth, exciting emotions of a character peculiarly solemn and sacred.*

The death of his patron had the effect of enhancing, if possible, the interest which Rutherford took in the spiritual welfare and comfort of his widow. His letters to her on the death of her husband, and subsequently, on that of her only surviving son, who died a minor, as well as his whole correspondence with her, breathe a spirit of the most elevated piety. Their intimacy, indeed, seems to have increased with years, and one of the last letters he wrote was to this excellent lady.†

* This interesting little work was first published at Edinburgh in 1649, extending to thirty pages small quarto, exclusive of seven pages of a Dedication. It was printed anonymously, but has been uniformly ascribed to Rutherford; a point which I venture to hope has been rendered apparent in the preface to the edition of that work, published in 1827, by the present writer. To this edition are prefixed, *Memoirs of Lord Kenmure*, containing a concise account of the public transactions in which that nobleman was called upon to engage. This Tract was extremely rare until the appearance of the edition in question.

† It may not be unimportant to mention, that Lady Kenmure was sister

Rutherford, though peculiarly assiduous in the discharge of his pastoral duties, took a deep interest in ecclesiastical manners, and maintained an epistolary correspondence with the presbyterian leaders in Edinburgh, and the different parts of the country. He was regarded as the organ of the church in the county in which he resided, and was duly apprized of every measure that was thought to affect the presbyterian cause. He communicated the intelligence to his brethren, and to others who were well-affected; and when no public movement could be made in reference to any step which the government or the episcopal church adopted, Rutherford and his friends hoped to gain the same end by means of private fasting, humiliation, and prayer. The first Sabbath of every quarter was agreed upon for this purpose, with any other six days that might be reckoned most convenient, between the quarterly meetings. "When authority, king, court, and churchmen, oppose the truth, what other armour have we but prayer and faith?"

Rutherford, meanwhile, beheld with pain and alarm the promulgation of doctrines which he reckoned unsound and unscriptural; and he devoted a portion of his time to the study of a controversy which then agitated the reformed church. The bold opinions of Arminius created a deep sensation, at first in Holland, and subsequently throughout the Christian world. Anxious as he was for the truth, he could not witness the progress of error without attempting to oppose it; and, notwithstanding his other important engagements, he found leisure to compose a learned work, entitled, *Exercitationes Apologeticae pro Divina Gratia*, on the controversy in question. This treatise is elaborate, distinguished by proofs of extensive reading and

to the celebrated Marquis of Argyle, who was executed in 1661, for his adherence to Presbyterian principles, and to the Solemn League and Covenant. After the death of her first husband, she was married to the Honourable Henry Montgomery, second son to the Earl of Eglinton, "an active and faithful friend of Christ's kirk," whose religious views were congenial to her own. She was soon left a widow a second time, in which state she lived till a very venerable age, being alive in the year 1672; but how long she survived that period I have not ascertained.—*Memoirs of Lord Kenmore*, prefixed to *The Last and Heavenly Speeches*, 35—7.

erudition, both biblical and classical, by a thorough acquaintance with all the polemical works which had been written on the subject, and by uncommon dexterity in the use of the dialectic art. It was published at Amsterdam in 1636; and it gained its author great fame, both in his native country and on the continent.

Episcopacy having long been predominant, and the most severe means being used to eradicate presbytery, Rutherford could not hope to continue long overlooked. So early as the year 1630, he had been summoned before the high commission court; but, owing to the favour shown him by Mr. Alexander Colville, one of the judges, and a friend of Lady Kenmure, and the absence of Spottiswood, the diet was deserted, and he was set at liberty. But such leniency was not always to last. Sydserff, bishop of Galloway, having, like most of his brethren, erected a high commission court in his own diocese, composed of his own creatures, Rutherford, in 1636, was summoned before this tribunal, which sat at Wigton, and was deprived of his ministerial office. This sentence Sydserff had the influence to get confirmed by the high commission at Edinburgh, before which Rutherford was cited to appear. "The cause that ripened the hatred of this supreme court against me," says Rutherford, "was my book against the Arminians, whereof they accused me these three days I appeared before them." The result may easily be anticipated. Though much interest was used in his behalf, and though some even of the judges spoke in his favour, he was deposed from his pastoral office, prohibited, under pain of rebellion, from officiating in his ministerial capacity, in any part of Scotland, and sentenced to be confined within the town of Aberdeen during the king's pleasure.

This sentence did not dispirit or intimidate him. "That honour," says he, in a letter written immediately after his trial, "that honour I have prayed for these sixteen years, my kind Lord hath now bestowed on me, even to suffer for my royal and princely king, Jesus." In another letter he speaks of his being on his journey to *Christ's palace* in Aberdeen. He

found it impossible to visit his flock and friends in Galloway ; but he was accompanied to his place of confinement (in August 1636.) by a deputation of his congregation in Anwoth, “with great regret at the want of such a pastor, so holie, learned, and modest.”

The time of his confinement in Aberdeen is one of the most interesting periods of his life. But on this portion of his history we have not at present room to dwell. It continued for a year and a half, at the end of which time, public sentiment having acquired the ascendancy, episcopacy was forced to give way, and make room for that polity which arbitrary power had long endeavoured in vain to destroy. He now returned to his flock in Anwoth ; and, as a representative of the presbytery of Kirkeudbright, he was a member of the famous general assembly which met at Glasgow in 1638, which abolished prelacy, and erected presbytery on its ruins. This latter polity continued the national church till the restoration, a period upwards of twenty years.

Rutherford was now too eminent a man to be permitted to remain in the remote parish of Anwoth. Counter-applications were made to obtain the benefit of his services, namely, from Edinburgh and St. Andrews, the former soliciting him to become one of the ministers of the city, the other to be appointed professor of divinity in the New College. He wished to decline both applications, and to be allowed to continue with a flock to whom he was deeply attached. The parish of Anwoth, and the county in which it is placed, respectively gave in most urgent petitions against his removal. In truth, he at first absolutely refused, hoping that the ensuing assembly of 1639 would not give their sanction to either appointment. But in this expectation he was disappointed. The claims of St. Andrews were preferred, and he was obliged to submit. He went thither, and entered on his arduous duties as professor of divinity, in the month of October in the year last mentioned. And it is believed, that, owing to his numerous and important avocations, he never had the satisfaction of again visiting his former flock, or of occupying that pulpit which he had so long

adorned. He was, at the same time, on his own request, appointed one of the ministers of St. Andrews, as colleague to Mr. Robert Blair.*

Nor were these the only offices to which he was nominated. He was, in 1647, chosen principal of the college; a place of great honour, but nearly a sinecure; and, in 1651, he was elected rector of the university. He had, meanwhile, received calls from West Calder and Edinburgh respectively, to remove to these places. But his reputation was not confined to his native country. It had become considerable on the continent; and he was honoured with invitations from the universities of Harderwyck and Utrecht successively, to occupy the chair of divinity in these seminaries. But these offers he hesitated not to decline. "Let me entreat you," says he, in a letter to a friend, who seems to have formed the resolution of removing to the continent, "let me entreat you to be far from the thought of leaving this land; I see it, and find it, that the Lord hath covered the whole land with a cloud in his anger; but *though I have been tempted to the like*, I had rather be in Scotland beside angry Jesus Christ, than in any Eden or garden in the earth."

The venerable assembly of divines met at Westminster in the year 1643; and of eight commissioners, namely, five clergymen and three elders, sent from the church of Scotland to that celebrated convocation, Rutherford had the honour to be one. He was absent four years; he was regarded as one of the most able and eminent members of that assembly; and, while there, he added much to the celebrity which he had before acquired.

On his return he renewed, with undiminished vigour, the discharge of his academical and clerical duties, which, in his

* Bushy-Bield, the house in which he resided while in Anwoth, and the church which, on his settlement there, was built for him, remained entire till 1828. Bushy-Bield has now disappeared; but of the church the bare walls still remain. A new church has been erected at a distance of about two hundred and fifty yards. The old pulpit, made of oak, is still preserved. A place in the near vicinity of Bushy-Bield is still distinguished by the name of *Rutherford's Walk*, as he was in the habit of retiring to that spot for exercise or meditation.

absence, had been performed by his colleagues, Dr. Colville and Mr. James Wood. He still continued to take the same interest in the public affairs of the church, and his name stands connected with almost all the important transactions of his times. He was attached from conscience to the most rigid sect of presbyterians; and was, under every circumstance, the consistent and fearless supporter of every principle and measure for which he had the sanction of the word of God, or the convictions of his own understanding.

But it was not merely by his academical prelections, his pulpit discourses, and his exertions as a churchman, that he laboured to promote the cause of divine truth, and of presbytery; which form of ecclesiastical polity was, in his opinion, strictly ordained in the Scriptures. He exerted himself more than any of his contemporaries, to obtain the same end through the press; he boldly stepped forward, on every necessary occasion, as the unflinching champion of the church and of orthodoxy; and his numerous and learned publications remain as an honourable memorial of his zeal, of his love of truth, and hatred of error. We have already mentioned his work against the Arminians. Before he went to the Westminster Assembly, he had published another treatise, entitled, *A Peaceable and Temperate Plea for Paul's Presbyterie in Scotland*; and, during the four years he was in London, he gave to the world, (not to speak of two sermons published separately,) no fewer than five large works, either strictly theological or polemical. After his return to St. Andrews, in 1647, he was the author of seven elaborate volumes, chiefly controversial. These works do not display much taste according to the standard of taste that now obtains, but they are characterised by great learning, by eminent subtlety in the dialectic art, and by an intimate acquaintance with the compositions of the early christian fathers, and of subsequent writers on theological and ecclesiastical subjects. Editions of his treatises on practical theology still occasionally issue from the press; but his polemical works have never been reprinted, and copies of them have in consequence

become scarce. They are, however, well known to recondite scholars, and will ever entitle his name to a high place among the writers of his age.*

But probably his most celebrated work was *Lex, Rex, the Law and the Prince*; a discourse, for the just prerogative of king and people; a treatise written in answer to the *Sacro-sancta Regum Majestas*; or the sacred and royal prerogative of Christian Kings, published by John Maxwell, excommunicated bishop of Ross. On its appearance, this work of Rutherford excited very deep and general interest; and Bishop Guthrie speaks of it as being "idolized" and regarded as preferable to Buchanan's celebrated treatise, *De jure Regni apud Scotos*. We regard it—whatever some writers may have said to the contrary—as highly honourable to his memory. It is loyal, yet liberal; it exposes the extravagant monarchical principles inculcated by Maxwell; yet it is evidently the production of one who both feared God and honoured the king; it is characterised by views and sentiments far superior to the age in which it appeared; and which have now obtained the sanction of the most enlightened governments of Europe.

At the restoration, when the divine right of kings and passive obedience became predominant, when the proceedings of

* One of his best works, *Examen Arminianismi*, was a posthumous production, having appeared in 1668, under the superintendence of the celebrated Nethenus, professor of divinity at Utrecht. The work, along with Rutherford's other papers, had been placed in the hands of Robert M^cWard, then one of the ministers of the Scottish church at Rotterdam; who, after submitting it to the critical inspection of John Livingstone, formerly of Annum, then residing in that city, transmitted it to Nethenus for publication.

Rutherford's celebrated *Letters* were also posthumous, having been published at Rotterdam by Mr. M^cWard, in 1664. To this publication the writer himself would never, it is supposed, have given his consent. From the very interesting nature of these letters, copies of them had been collected during his lifetime; which gave him great annoyance, and which he regarded as a breach of confidence on the part of his correspondents. These letters, however, do honour to his memory; they have been very often reprinted; and now, at the end of two centuries, still retain their popularity.

government were characterised by illiberality and persecution, the author of *Lex, Rex*, could not expect to be allowed to remain unmolested. The committee of estates, in September 1660, issued a proclamation against this obnoxious work, and it was declared that every person having a copy of it in his possession, who did not deliver it to his majesty's solicitor, before the middle of the ensuing month, should be regarded and treated as an enemy to the king. Copies of it were publicly burned in Edinburgh by the hands of the common hangman; it underwent a similar fate at London, and at the gates of the college, of which the author was Professor of Divinity. Nor did the vengeance of government stop here. He was deprived of his situation as a member of the university, and of his charge in the church; his stipend was confiscated, himself ordered to be confined to his own house, and cited to appear before the ensuing parliament on a charge of treason.

Rutherford was not yet old; but he had always been a man of delicate constitution; and for some years past, his health had declined much. His complaints, in truth, had now assumed so alarming an aspect, that he was incapable of obeying the summons served upon him; and it was evident to himself and his friends, that his death could not be far distant. Not having it in his power to prove, by any public appearance, that his principles remained unaltered in the prospect of dissolution, three weeks before his death, he emitted a testimony, (which was afterwards printed,) expressive of the sentiments he had uniformly maintained and advocated on ecclesiastical matters, and on the connexion which, in his opinion, the scriptures allow between the church and the civil government. He also made and subscribed his last will and testament, and arranged his worldly affairs in the most judicious manner, for the benefit of those who were to survive him.

Having completed these arrangements, he devoted himself exclusively to a preparation for that event which he saw was fast approaching. "I shall shine," he said, "I shall see him as he is; I shall see him reign, and all his fair company with him, and I shall have my share. Mine eyes shall see my Re-

deemer, these very eyes of mine, and none for me." He died on the 20th of March 1661, under the influence of that religion, by the love and cultivation of which, his whole life had been eminently distinguished. His last words were, "Glory, glory, dwelleth in Emanuel's land."

Rutherford left behind him a widow, (for he had formed a second marriage in 1640, ten years after the death of his first wife,) with one child, a daughter, named Agnes, then eleven years of age. Of seven children which his second marriage produced, it was his melancholy lot to see six laid in an untimely grave.

Mrs. Rutherford, on her husband's death, fixed on Edinburgh as her place of residence. In what circumstances, as to pecuniary matters, she was left, the most minute information is afforded us in his latter will. His whole property, at the time of his death, amounted to L.2,923, 13s. 4d. Scots money, or about L.243 Sterling; a sum barely sufficient for her support; but either at this time, or soon afterwards, she obtained some property in the parish of Covington, the revenue of which formed a considerable addition to her income.

She appears to have been distinguished by great worth, and to have possessed a character not dissimilar to that of her pious husband. "It is true," to use the words of Mr. M^cWard, in a letter addressed to her daughter, "it is true, you are deprived of the great advantage of a father's example, before you could make much observation of his walk; but God hath been gracious to you in sparing a mother of the same spirit and walk with him, and whose experience also, I know to be beyond the experience of any I know."

Mrs. Rutherford survived her husband upwards of fourteen years, and died in the month of May 1675. But before that event, she had seen her daughter, who married William Chiesly, writer to the signet, settled in life. The religious character of Mrs. Chiesly, neither before her marriage nor after it, seems to have been altogether worthy of her descent. M^cWard, in his letters to her, addresses her in such terms as if he had been informed of her neglect of sacred things, or had suspected her

of such neglect. Nor was she married to a man more exemplary than herself in this respect. Chiesly, in truth, seems not to have been a man of respectable character. He was discovered to be guilty of "gross, exorbitant, and uninstructed" proceedings in a matter intrusted to his management; and at length, evidently from such practices, he was degraded from his rank as a lawyer, and deprived of his privileges as a member of the College of Justice. He died in the year 1704, at the age of seventy. The date of his wife's death, I have not learned. Nor have I discovered the number of children that resulted from their union; but one of their family, (a daughter, named Jean, who had never been married,) died so late as the year 1736,—seventy-five years after the death of her grandfather, the subject of these memoirs.

Of his character, we do not think it necessary to say much in addition to what has been stated in the course of our narrative. Our readers must already be well acquainted with it, so far as it can now be known. He was a man indefatigable in the discharge of every duty. In the clerical profession he took great delight, and distinguished himself by peculiar faithfulness and zeal in the performance of its sacred functions. He feared not the face of man in maintaining the ecclesiastical and theological principles of the church to which he belonged,—or in resisting and exposing error. He was willing to lay down his life as a testimony to the truth. He may, we confess, sometimes have shown violence, and have pushed his principles to an objectionable extreme. But liberal allowances must be made for him in this respect. The age was one of faction and of controversy; and it was difficult, if not impossible, for any man, who took an active share in its proceedings, or who was animated with an energetic spirit, to keep free from the error to which we refer, or to display mildness and gentleness amid the storms and turbulence by which he was surrounded. And let it be remembered, that the part he acted in public affairs, whether marked by violence or not, he undertook solely on public grounds, and never made it subservient to his own aggrandizement. There seldom has lived an individual more devoid of

personal ambition, or who seemed less anxious to avail himself of any places of honour, even when they were pressed on his acceptance.

His friendship was warm and steadfast ; a circumstance evident from his *Letters*, and from the fact, that the friends of his early life, that were not removed from him by death, continued to be those of his advanced years. In his domestic relations, he is entitled to equal praise. Every time he appears before us in this interesting capacity, it is highly to his honour. But in nothing was he more remarkable, than for his assiduous cultivation of personal piety. He may be said to have lived near to God. Every principle of his heart, and every action of his life, he endeavoured to mould according to the divine standard ; and of him it may be truly said, that he departed in peace, his eyes having seen the salvation of God.

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CHAPTER VIII.

LIFE OF JOHN LIVINGSTONE.

JOHN LIVINGSTONE, for a considerable time minister of Stranraer, was born at Monyabreck, or Kilsyth, in the presbytery of Glasgow, on the 21st of January 1603. His father and grandfather, descended from a family afterwards dignified with the title of Earl of Linlithgow, were successively ministers of that parish. The former, who married a daughter of Alexander Livingstone, portioner of Falkirk, was removed from Kilsyth to Lanark, where he died in 1641.*

The subject of this memoir was, at the age of ten years, sent to the school of Stirling, then taught by Mr. William Wallace, "a good man and a learned humanist." Under this respectable teacher his progress was great. At the termination of three years he had acquired so much knowledge in the learned languages, as to be reckoned qualified to enter on his studies at the university. On account of his youth, however, and the urgent solicitation of Wallace, who was proud of his pupil, and who wished to be the means of raising him to still higher proficiency, he was allowed to remain another year at Stirling. Nor were the expectations of the teacher unfounded. "For most part," says Livingstone, "we read by ourselves in a little chamber above the school, our master furnishing us in books, where we went through the most parte of the choice

* *MS. Life of Livingstone*, written by himself, in Adv. Library.

Latine writers, both poets and others ; and that year was to me the largest, most profitable year I had in the schools."

Thus accomplished, he bade farewell to Mr. Wallace in 1617 ; the summer of that year he spent under his father's roof in Lanark ; at the termination of which time he entered the University of Glasgow, where he devoted himself, with unremitting ardour to the prosecution of his studies. " In my third year in the College of Glasgow," says he, " I read more than I think I did in any year since ; I was then under the oversight of precious Mr. Robert Blair, who for two years was my regent in the college, and having got some grounds in logick and metaphysics, and the subtilities of the schoolmen, a vain thought to be above my equals, set me on to a great pains." Having passed Master of Arts in 1621, he left college and returned to Lanark.

He had not yet fixed what profession he should follow. After much hesitation, he seemed to prefer the department of medicine, and requested his father's permission to go to France to prosecute his studies. This request did not meet with his father's approbation ; but anxious to see his son settled in life, he advised him to form some matrimonial connexion, and to retire to an estate in his native parish which he had recently purchased in his name. This offer placed him in a most trying and delicate situation. The wish and advice of so affectionate a parent he knew not how to resist ; and yet, if these were complied with, the pursuits of literature, for which he felt an ardent attachment, must be foregone for ever. From his earliest youth, he had been distinguished for a deep sense of piety ; and in this perplexing dilemma, he resolved to set a day apart to endeavour by prayer to obtain divine direction. For this purpose, he retired to a cave not far from Lanark, where, after petitioning guidance and assistance from on high, he was led to infer that his lot was to preach Christ Jesus and him crucified. Urged on by this persuasion, he, from this moment, determined to devote his whole heart and time to his advancement in theological learning. His father was too good to oppose this resolution, or rather, he took delight in cherish-

ing it. The property just mentioned was sold; and having at length been licensed a probationer of the Scottish church, Livingstone preached his first sermon from his father's pulpit on the second day of January 1625.

For some time after this period, he remained at Lanark, preaching frequently either at home, or in the neighbouring parishes. But in April 1626, he visited Galloway at the request of Lord Kenmure, who wished, after some obstructions were removed, to present him to the parish of Anwoth. Some unforeseen difficulties having come in the way, his settlement in Anwoth could not be effected so soon as had been intended; in consequence of which he was induced to accept a call to the parish of Torphichen.—The following statement, relative to this part of his history, contains biographical notices.

“At that time, in Galloway,” says he, “I got acquaintance with my Lord Kenmure and his religious lady, and several worthy and experienced Christians, as Alexander Gordon of Earlston, Alexander Gordon of Knockgray, Robert Gordon of Knockbrex, John his brother, and Alexander of Gairleuch, Fullerton Laird of Cairlton, John M^cAdam, and Christian M^cAdam of Waterhead, Marion M^cKnaught in Kirkcudbright, and several others; for I preached at a communion at Borgh, where was many good people that came out of Kirkcudbright, and I was present at private meetings with some of the forementioned at Gairleuch, and in the Airds, where Earlston then dwelt.”*

This settlement at Torphichen, however, did not take place, being opposed by Spottiswood, on account of his non-conformity. This was the fate of several other calls which about this time he received. He was in the mean time invited to Cumbernauld, the seat of the Earl of Wigton, with whom, with little intermission, he continued, preaching frequently to the tenantry of that nobleman, till 1630, when, having resigned every hope of obtaining a settlement in Scotland, he

* *MS. Life of Livingstone*, 10, 11. Also his *Remarkable Observations upon the lives of the most eminent ministers and professors*, where most of the persons mentioned in the text are commemorated.

was persuaded by the entreaty of some clerical friends, and the kindness of Viscount Clandiboy, to accept of the charge of Killinchie, a parish in the north of Ireland. Of the nature of his induction to his charge, the following account is interesting. "I needed to have ordination, and the bishop of Down, in whose bounds the parish of Killinchie was, was a corrupt and timorous man, and would require some engagement; therefore my Lord Clandiboy sent some with me, and wrote to Mr. Andrew Knox, bishop of Rapho, who, when I came and gave him the letters from my Lord Clandiboy and the Earl of Wigton, and some others that I had, for that purpose, brought out of Scotland, he told me that he knew my errand, that I came to him because I had scruples against episcopacy and ceremonies, according as Mr. Josiah Welsh and some others had done before, and that he thought his old age was prolonged for little other purpose than to do such offices, that if I scruple to call him my lord he cared not much for it. All he would desire of me, because they got there but few sermons, that I would preach there at Ramalton next Sabbath, and he would send for Mr. William Cunningham and some two or three neighbouring ministers to be present, who, after sermon, should give me imposition of hands; but though they performed the work, he behoved to be present, for otherwise he durst not answer it to the state. He gave me the book of ordination, and desired any thing I scrupled at I should draw a line over it in the margin, and Mr. William Cunningham should not read it; but I found it had been so marked by some there before, that I needed not mark any thing. So the Lord was pleased to carry that business far beyond any thing that I had thought, or almost even desired."

In the north of Ireland there were at that time many presbyterian congregations, and amongst Livingstone's brethren were Mr. Josiah Welsh, Mr. Robert Blair, and Mr. John M'Lellan, subsequently minister of Kirkeudbright.* While

* John M'Lellan was originally a schoolmaster, and afterwards a minister, in the north of Ireland. He was, like Livingstone and the other

in this charge, he was exposed to much distress and persecution. By the bishop of Down, in whose diocese Killinchic was situated, he was deposed from his office, and excommunicated. Afraid of imprisonment, and in danger of his life, he was compelled to flee for refuge to his native country; and at one time, along with his other persecuted brethren, had formed the resolution of crossing the Atlantic, and settling in America. The hand of providence, however, overruled this determination; and at length, being on a visit to the Earl of Cassillis in Ayrshire, he received two calls to the ministry, the one from Stranraer, the other from Straiton. He preferred the former parish, and was inducted, by the Presbytery of Stranraer, minister of that place, on the 5th of July 1638.

In this situation, as prelaey was now abolished in Scotland, he experienced no opposition. The more serious persons of his flock having, on his arrival, requested liberty to attend family worship in his house, he offered to meet with them every morning in the church. This offer they willingly accepted. They assembled daily, and after singing a few verses of a psalm, and reading a small portion of scripture, on which he spoke "only so long as a half hour glass run," he concluded the meeting by prayer. He attended the celebrated assembly of Glasgow, which met soon after his induction to Stranraer, and concurred in all its proceedings; he was appointed by the Presbytery, in 1640, chaplain to the Earl of Cassillis's regiment, and was present at the battle of Newburn, near Newcastle; and in consequence of an application to the Assembly from the Presbyterian inhabitants of the north of Ireland, he was appointed to go thither three months every summer for five years previously to 1643. He continued at Stranraer until this year, when, by the decision of the assembly, he was translated to the parish of Ancrum, in the Pres-

clergymen of that place, deposed and excommunicated. He was removed to Kirkcudbright about the year 1638, where he continued until his death in 1650. Livingstone gives him a place in his *Remarkable Observations*, (p. 154); his name is repeatedly mentioned in Baillie's *Letters* (i. 197, 342, &c.) and many of his letters have been preserved in Wodrow's *MSS.*

bytery of Jedburgh. The following extract from his *Life* will not be reckoned uninteresting.

“During my abode in Stranraer,” says he, “the neighbouring ministers with whom I kepted most society, by whose counsell and company I profited most, were my brother M^cLellan of Kirkeudbright; Mr. Robert Hamilton at Ballintrae, and Mr. George Hutcheson at Colmonell; and in the Presbytery of Stranraer, Mr. Alexander Turnbull at Kirkmaiden, Mr. George Dick at Inch, Mr. John Dick at Glenluee; and in the Presbytery of Wigton, Mr. Andrew Lauther at Whythorn, and Mr. John Park at Mochrum, who also succeeded at Stranraer; with all these I have been at their communions, and most of them have been with me at the communion at Stranraer.”

His flock at Ancrum were not so exemplary as those of his former charge.* They were indeed so ignorant and immoral, that a considerable time elapsed ere he thought it proper to celebrate among them the sacrament of the supper. On the death of Charles I. he was sent to the Hague as one of the commissioners from the parliament and church of Scotland, to treat with his son, (who had assumed the title of Charles II.) respecting his accession to the throne of his forefathers. This embassy terminated unsuccessfully; and at the desire of the prince himself, another deputation, of which Livingstone was also a member, were the following summer despatched to Breda on the same important mission. Livingstone had the discernment to discover the vacillating and dissolute principles of Charles; and when, after much hesitation and delay, he agreed to accept the conditions offered him, and to subscribe the solemn league and covenant, Livingstone, who presided and delivered a sermon on the occasion, officiated with much reluctance, fully aware that the king was insincere, and insisting that this solemn obligation ought not to be administered, until a manifest change had been effected in his prin-

* “The people of Stranraer,” says he, “were very tractable and respectful.”

ciples, conduct, and councils. The doubts of Livingstone were not fanciful. For Charles not only trampled under foot his solemn vows and engagements, but persecuted unto death all who supported those very principles, which the national league and covenant inculcated, and to which he had publicly sworn to adhere.

He now returned to Ancrum, and devoted himself to the performance of his sacred duties; which, however, were occasionally interrupted by the active part he took in the important transactions of his time. Of these transactions, however, we cannot at present give an account. We can merely mention that, like Rutherford, he belonged to the most rigid side of the church; and that those who composed it, being less numerous than their opponents, particularly after the Restoration, were exposed to suffering and persecution. Livingstone early foresaw the treatment to which, like the rest of his brethren, he must ere long be subjected. On the Monday of the last sacrament he was allowed to dispense at Ancrum, he took a public farewell of his flock and friends, aware that the tie betwixt them must soon be broken. Nor was he deceived. He was summoned to appear on the 11th of December 1662, before the privy council at Edinburgh. He obeyed the summons; and because he would not promise to keep the anniversary of the death of Charles I. and take the oath of allegiance in the precise way in which it was dictated to him,* sentence of banishment was passed upon him; he was ordered to leave Scotland in two months, and until his departure, to remain north of the Tay. "Well," exclaimed he, "although it be not permitted me to breathe in my native air, yet I trust whatsoever part of the world I go into, I shall not cease to pray for a blessing to these lands, to his majesty and the

* "I do acknowledge," says Livingstone, in his answer to the chancellor on this occasion, "the king's majesty (whose person and government I wish God to bless,) to be the only lawful supreme magistrate of this, and all other his majesty's dominions; and that his majesty is the supreme civil governor over all persons, and in all causes, as well ecclesiastic as civil; but, for the oath as it stands, *in terminis*, I am not free to take it."

government, and the inferior magistrates thereof, but especially to the land of my nativity." The last part of his sentence was not put in execution. In consequence of a petition to the council, he was allowed to spend the short period before his departure at Leith, whence having written a striking and affectionate letter to his flock at Ancrum, he sailed, soon after the commencement of the subsequent year, for Rotterdam, and bade his native land farewell for ever! On his arrival at that city, he found Mr. M^cWard, and other exiled brethren. He enjoyed many opportunities of preaching to the Scots congregation there; and having devoted the remainder of his eventful life to the cultivation of theological and biblical learning, he died on the 9th of August 1672, in the 70th year of his age.

When in Ireland, Livingstone was married to a daughter of Bartholomew Fleming, merchant in Edinburgh, then on a visit to her sister, Mrs. John M^cLellan, of whose husband we have already spoken. His courtship was singular; and affords a curious proof of the spirituality of his principles.

"Mr. Blair propounded to me that marriage; immediately thereafter I was sent to London to have gone to New England, and returned the June following. I had seen her several times before in Scotland, and had the testimony of many of her gracious disposition, yet I was for nine months seeking or I could get direction from God anent that business, during which time I did not offer to speak to her, (who, I believe, had not heard any thing of the matter,) only for want of clearness in my mind; although I was twice or thrice in the house, and saw her frequently at communions and public meetings, and it's like I might have been longer in such darkness, except the Lord had presented an occasion of our conferring together; for, on November 10th, 1634, when I was going to the Friday meeting, at Antrim, I foregathered with her, and some others, going thither, and propounded to them, by the way, to confer upon a text, whercon I was to preach the day after at Antrim, whercon I found her conference so judicious and spiritual, that I took that for some answer to my

prayer to have my mind cleared, and blamed myself that I had not before taken occasion to confer with her. Four or five days after, I proponed the matter, and desired her to think upon it; and after a week or two, I went to her mother's house, and being alone with her, desiring her answer, I went to prayer, and urged her to pray, which at last she did; and in that time I got abundant clearness, that it was the Lord's mind that I should marry her, and then propounded the matter more fully to her mother; and albeit, I was then fully cleared, I may truly say, it was about a month after before I got marriage affection to her, although she was, for personal endowments, beyond many of her equals; and I got it not till I obtained it by prayer, but thereafter, I had greater difficulty to moderate it."

Mrs. Livingstone was a person of great energy and fortitude of character. In 1674, two years after her husband's death, we find her, along with about fifteen other females, most of them ministers' widows, petitioning the privy council for liberty to the presbyterian ministers to preach the gospel without molestation, "as the people may, in an orderly way, call them." These ladies, in order to incur the same responsibility, severally engaged to present a copy to the principal councillors. With this view, they met in the Parliament Square, and delivered the petition to them as they passed. "The good woman, Mrs. Livingstone," says Wodrow, "presented the petition to the chancellor. The Earl received it with civility enough, and read it in the place where it was delivered, and patiently heard what she had to add, for the gentlewoman spoke very well and handsomely." The application was unsuccessful: indeed, some of the petitioners were afterwards seized and imprisoned on account of it; but it affords a striking proof of their zeal and intrepidity.

That Livingstone was a faithful and zealous minister of the gospel, has already been stated. His sermons were at first carefully composed and committed to memory, but he afterwards spoke either from short notes, or merely from revolving in his mind the subject on which he meant to discourse. His

discussions, therefore, as he himself allows, were often necessarily disjointed and declamatory; but from the general simplicity and perspicuity of his style and arrangement, and from the earnestness and energy with which he spoke, he seems to have carried along with him irresistibly the hearts and understandings of his hearers. A sermon which, in his youth, he delivered in the parish of Shotts, occasioned, as himself informs us, a change in the religious sentiments of about five hundred persons; and double that number experienced a revolution of their principles on a similar occasion at Holywood, in the north of Ireland. "Perhaps," says Wodrow, "few ministers since the Apostles' days were more remarkably countenanced from heaven in their work than Mr. Livingstone."

Nor was he less eminent as a scholar than as a clergyman. "I had a kind of coveting," he says, "when I got leisure to read much, and of different subjects, and was oft challenged that my way of reading was like some men's lust after such a kind of play or recreation. I used to read much too fast, and was pleased in the time but retained little. My memory was waterish and weak, yet, had I improved it, I might have had better use of it; for after I came to the college, I did, with no great difficulty, attain to some tolerable insight of the Hebrew and Chaldee, and some also of the Syriac; the Arabic I did essay, but the vastness of it made me give it over. I got also so much of the French, the Italian, and after that, of the low Dutch, that I could make use of several of their books—and of the Spanish and high Dutch, that I could make use of their Bibles."

The erudition which he thus acquired he did not lose by indolence, or employ in unprofitable speculation. The period between his banishment and his death he devoted to his favourite object—the elucidation of the sacred volume; of which he meant to publish an edition, containing the original Hebrew, and a new Latin translation, with various readings, explanatory notes, and a reconciliation of passages apparently contradictory. This elaborate undertaking obtained the ap-

probation and support of Voctius, and other learned men to whom it was submitted; but his death, which was evidently accelerated by an ardent application to study, deprived the world of a work which, from the character of its author, must have formed a valuable addition to biblical literature. In our life of Rutherford, we remarked that the *Examen Arminianismi*, a posthumous production of that celebrated person, was submitted before publication to the critical judgment of Mr. Livingstone, of whose learning and worth, Nethenus the editor speaks in very encomiastic terms. In such high estimation was he held by his brethren, that he was repeatedly requested by the general assembly to compile a history of the Church of Scotland from the famous era of 1638. With this request, from several circumstances, he did not find it convenient to comply; but in the manuscript account of his own life, written during his banishment, he has thrown very considerable light on the transactions in which he himself had been engaged; and in his *Remarkable Observations upon the Lives of the most eminent Ministers and Professors in the Church of Scotland*, also in manuscript, he has left us memorials of his distinguished contemporaries.

CHAPTER IX.

LIFE OF ROBERT M'WARD.

ROBERT M'WARD,* the intimate friend both of Livingstone and Rutherford, was a native of Glenluce, a considerable village in Wigtonshire. He seems to have been much younger than either of these distinguished persons, though the year of his birth has not been ascertained. The name and condition of his parents are also unknown. He attended the University of St. Andrews; and having acquired, while yet a student, the friendship of Rutherford, Professor of Divinity, on this celebrated person's going to London as one of the Scottish Commissioners to the venerable Assembly of Divines met at Westminster, M'Ward was selected to accompany him as his private secretary and amanuensis.† He returned to Scotland in the end of the year 1647, and such was his character, that, in April 1650, he was elected a professor of philosophy in the university in which he had so recently been a student.‡

* In our former edition we gave an imperfect sketch of M'Ward's life. The present memoir is much more complete. For the additional matter which it contains I am indebted to an elaborate life of this celebrated person, written by the Rev. William Steven, of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam, with the perusal of which in manuscript I have been favoured. The sketch from which I have so liberally availed myself is meant to form an article in a Historical Account of the Church of Rotterdam, which is soon to appear, and which, from the known research of the author, and the facilities he enjoys, cannot fail to contain much valuable information.

† *Life of Rutherford*, 233-4, by the present writer.

‡ Lamont's *Chronicle of Fife*, 19.

It is likely that, while he conducted the business of his own class, he was attending the lectures on theology delivered by Rutherford, with a view to a settlement in the church. He did not, however, take license as a preacher till the year 1655; and in the subsequent year he succeeded the celebrated Andrew Gray as one of the ministers of Glasgow. In this charge he continued for five years as an energetic and successful clergyman. Like his preceptor, Rutherford, he belonged to the most rigid party in the church; and at the Restoration, when episcopacy was re-established at the expense of that polity which had predominated for upwards of twenty years, he remained firm to his original principles, and did not fail to lift up his voice against "the glaring defections of the times." In the month of February 1661, he concluded a sermon, in which he had been inveighing against the arbitrary measures of government, with the following expressions:—

"As for my own part, as a poor member of the church of Scotland, and an unworthy minister in it, I do this day call you, who are the people of God, to witness that I humbly offer my dissent to all acts which are or shall be passed against the covenants and work of reformation in Scotland; and I protest that I am desirous to be free of the guilt thereof, and pray that God may put it on record in heaven."†

These words, which are somewhat excusable on account of the cruel and wanton proceedings of Charles relative to the presbyterian church, could not be overlooked. M·Ward was immediately apprehended, committed to prison, and served with an indictment to stand trial for sedition and treasonable preaching. The result need scarcely be told. He himself knew from the beginning that his acquittal was hopeless; and he did not experience disappointment or vexation, when he was sentenced to leave the kingdom within half a year. Of this time he was allowed to spend one month in Glasgow; and, what was a wonderful stretch of lenity, he was declared entitled to the stipend for the following year. Within the time speci-

† Wodrow's *History*, 207. 8vo. Ed. 1828.

fied, he left his native land, and sailed for Holland, whence he never returned.

In his correspondence with his Scottish friends, he makes frequent mention of the kind reception he experienced at Rotterdam, where he had fixed his residence. In a letter to Lady Kenmure, who is already known to the reader as the friend of Rutherford, he says, "If your ladyship be desirous to have any account concerning my condition, know that I have met with much undeserved kindness. I am ashamed to call my lot a suffering lot; for He hath rather hid me from the storm than exposed me to trouble. I have occasion now and then to preach at Rotterdam, where we have an old Scots minister, who is dissatisfied with the times."*

The minister to whom he here refers was Mr. Alexander Petrie, author of *A Compendious History of the Catholic Church, from the year 600 until the year 1600*. A portion of the leisure he now enjoyed he devoted to the examination of the manuscripts of his friend Rutherford, who had died in March 1661; which papers had been placed in his hands by the author's widow. He collected and arranged his celebrated *Letters*; which appeared in 1664, with an interesting address to the "Christian Reader," containing much important biographical information, composed by Mr. M^cWard. The part he took in the publication of Rutherford's posthumous work, *Examen Arminianismi*, has already been mentioned.

Soon after the publication of Rutherford's *Letters*, M^cWard removed to Utrecht, where he enjoyed the friendship of these eminent divines, Voetius and Nethenus. He also made himself useful to many of his young countrymen who were attending the university of that place. There is another circumstance connected with his residence here that must not be omitted. In the English church at Utrecht he frequently preached; and Mr. Best and the consistory requested him to give a weekly sermon every Wednesday morning. To this request he willingly acceded; and when Mr. Best afterwards

* Wodrow's *MSS.* lviii. 53.

required to be absent for a few weeks, he officiated in his room. But M^cWard was strictly presbyterian; and, as he did not adopt certain forms that obtained in the English church, and as he had used some expressions in regard to England which gave offence, representations were made to himself on these subjects, and communications were despatched to Mr. Best. M^cWard was inflexible; and as he would not comply with ecclesiastical forms, which, he conceived, Scripture did not enjoin, and presbytery never tolerated, his weekly discourse and his connexion with Mr. Best's congregation necessarily terminated; and the people of Utrecht no longer enjoyed the benefit of his spiritual instructions.

It was probably this circumstance that induced him, about the year 1668, to return to Rotterdam, where many of the most distinguished Scottish presbyterians had taken refuge, such as John Livingstone, John Brown, late of Wamphray, John Nevoy, late of Newmills, and Colonel Wallace. He resided there, supported by the liberality of some of his friends in Scotland, as also of the magistrates and inhabitants of the city, till the year 1676, when he was appointed one of the ministers of the Scottish church, as colleague to Mr. John Hog, who had succeeded Mr. Petrie in 1662. This appointment was the more honourable to Mr. M^cWard, as Mr. Brown and Mr. John Carstairs were also put in nomination.

“Mr. M^cWard,” says Mr. Steven, “effected many important improvements. At his suggestion a sessional meeting was held every Monday morning, for religious purposes. With him also originated the proposal, to levy a small gratuity for the poor of the congregation, from every Scots vessel arriving at Rotterdam. He successfully arranged matters, and got the owners and masters of ships readily to enter into his benevolent views. For this acceptable offering, which has been uninterruptedly and cheerfully continued to the present day, free church accommodation is granted to captains, masters, and sailors, who have distinct pews.” He was also the means of establishing a school for English and the elementary branches of education, connected with the Scottish church, and dependent on it;

a seminary which still exists, and which has, in the most ample manner, realized the important object which its enlightened founder had in view. While engaged in these philanthropic arrangements, he was unwearied in discharging his sacred duties; and both by his pulpit discourses and private ministrations, he laboured to prove himself a workman that needed not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth.

But however useful his labours were, or whatever was the unobtrusive piety of his deportment, his flock were not allowed long to enjoy his valuable services. The wrath of Charles II. was not satisfied with the punishment which had been inflicted on him. He felt unhappy on hearing of M^cWard, or any of presbyterian principles, whom he had banished, attaining to honour and distinction, even in a foreign land. So early as the year 1670, application had been made to the States General, on the part of the English monarch, to obtain the expulsion of M^cWard, Robert Trail, formerly one of the ministers of Edinburgh, and John Nevoy, from Holland. The States seem to have acquiesced in this request, but took no active steps to carry it into effect; for these obnoxious clergymen never removed from the Dutch territories, but remained for some time in seclusion. In 1676, a similar application was made by Charles; but it was received with a different spirit on the part of the Dutch government. They peremptorily refused to comply. But the English king, in the most urgent or threatening terms, continued to reiterate his request, the compliance with which he said he would regard as a personal favour done to himself, till the States General thought it prudent to yield. But, in yielding, they bore testimony to the pacific dispositions and useful labours by which these unfortunate men had been distinguished since they had become subjects of the republic. They showed them all the respect, and did them all the good which, under the circumstances, they could confer upon them; and gave them, on their departure, an official recommendatory letter, *ad omnes populos*, requesting for them a kind reception and affectionate treatment. Mr. M^cWard and Mr. Brown retired to Utrecht, or its neighbour-

hood, where they were allowed to remain unmolested; but Colonel Wallace, who was particularly obnoxious to Charles, on account of his connexion with the battle of Pentland, found it necessary to pass the Dutch boundary, and to settle on the borders of France.*

Of the loss which the members of the Scottish church in Rotterdam sustained, in consequence of the removal of these men, particularly Mr. M^cWard, they were fully aware. From the minutes of consistory, of date 1st February 1677, it appears, that “the session were very much grieved to be deprived of their faithfull, peacefull, and pious preacher, and of such another, also, who, every Lord’s day, was an helper in the work of the Lord; and likewise, of the most painfull and usefull elder they had amongst them.” From the same source we learn, that Mr. M^cWard “they do still own and avouch to be their minister, and the said Mr. Wallace their elder, notwithstanding of any act or ordinance now passed out against them, procured by the means of wicked and malicious instruments, and enemies to the truth and power of godliness, in the court of England.” Mr. M^cWard, before his departure, partook of the Lord’s Supper with his people. And on Sabbath, 25th February 1677, he delivered a farewell discourse, “being to remove the 27th instant, as he did, to the great grief of all truly godly in the place.”

Mr. M^cWard’s name, as a mark of respect to him, still continued in the session roll as one of the ministers of the Scottish church; but, before his removal, he was requested by the session, to nominate a person properly qualified to succeed him. This task he undertook to fulfil; and his letters to his colleague, Mr. Hog, and to the congregation, relative to this subject, are extremely interesting, and exhibit his character in a very amiable light. Mr. James Kirkton, and Mr. John Carstairs, men whose names are well known in the history of our church, were the persons whom he successively tried to accept the charge. But, from circumstances which need not

* M^cCrie’s edition of *Life of Colonel Wallace*.

be mentioned here, they declined the offer made them. At length, however, on the 30th of December of the year in which M^cWard had withdrawn to Utrecht, Mr. Robert Fleming, author of *The Fulfilling of the Scriptures*, and other theological works, and who, like M^cWard, had studied divinity under Rutherford at St. Andrews, was inducted as his successor; and continued as one of the ministers of Rotterdam till his death in 1694.

As the States General had reluctantly agreed to pass sentence of banishment against M^cWard, and his two friends, Brown and Wallace, they were not sorry to see them return to their former place of residence. The two latter returned to Rotterdam in the year 1673, and Mr. M^cWard soon joined them. He seems not, however, to have had any further official connexion with the church, in which Mr. Fleming had been settled as his successor. But, with the other exiled ministers, he held weekly meetings in private houses, for religious purposes. Towards the end of the year last mentioned, Colonel Wallace died in the arms of the subject of this sketch, and Mr. Brown, in September of the following year; of the death and character of both of whom he gave an affectionate account, in his correspondence with his friends, which has happily been preserved. Mr. John Livingstone, who, after his banishment, also lived in Rotterdam, had died some years before. These, and other bereavements, he felt acutely; but his own days were now fast drawing to a close. The precise date of his death is not known; but it took place towards the end of the year 1681, after a banishment of twenty years.

He was the author of various works. We have already mentioned his introduction to Rutherford's *Letters*. To Mr. Brown's several publications are prefixed recommendatory essays by M^cWard. He also wrote similar prefaces to other works, as minutely specified by Mr. Steven. His other treatises are, *Solemn Appeal to Preachers in Times of Spiritual Declension*; a work that never appeared in English, but, as Mr. Steven states, was translated into Dutch by Koelman,

and published in Holland, in 1674; *The Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, ministered to the Saints and Sufferers for Christ in Scotland*; *The True Non-Conformist*, written in answer to Bishop Burnet's *Dialogue between a Conformist and Non-Conformist*; *Banders Disbanded*; *A Testimony against Paying of Cess to the Persecutors*; ΕΠΙΛΟΓΗΝ ΜΟΙ; or, *Earnest Contendings for the Faith*. This last work, which is his largest, and which was posthumous, as some of his other treatises were, was written in answer to some papers on the Indulgence, submitted to him by Mr. Fleming, his successor in Rotterdam, the latter having employed indulged clergymen in his pulpit, and having, to a certain degree, abandoned that party in the church to which M^cWard always rigidly adhered. M^cWard, in truth, inveighed, on all occasions, most violently against the indulgence. His letters, for example, addressed to his friends in Scotland, had a direct tendency, on this account, to widen the breach which then unfortunately obtained in the church. "He was," says Kirkton, "a hot-mynded man, (otherways a man of parts and learning.)" He is also known to have composed a *History of the Church of Scotland*; but, unfortunately, the manuscript has been lost. He maintained a regular correspondence with his friends in Scotland, particularly with the widow and only surviving child of his deceased friend and preceptor, Samuel Rutherford. No fewer than seventy of his letters have been preserved by Wodrow, which the writer of them had either collected before his death, or had previously kept copies of, with the view of their being afterwards published; but such publication never took place. They are not all worthy of being presented to the public, but some of them are valuable, containing much biographical and interesting information. He has been, by some, erroneously represented as the author of *Naphtali*; which was written by Mr. James Stirling, minister of Paisley, assisted by Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees.

CHAPTER X.

LIFE OF ANDREW SYMSON.

THE history of ANDREW SYMSON is not connected, as to congeniality of character, with the distinguished men of whom we have been speaking. He was, in truth, an episcopalian clergyman; and his opinions and views on ecclesiastical subjects was necessarily the very contrary of theirs. In point of time, however, his life comes to be considered in this place. Nor shall we find the task an unpleasant one; for he seems to have been an estimable person, and distinguished by the possession of respectable abilities.

Of his parentage or birth nothing is known. He was educated for the ministry, and before he left the university he had obtained the degree of A. M. Whatever were his previous sentiments, we find him a member of the episcopal church in the beginning of the reign of Charles II. The state of ecclesiastical affairs at this time requires briefly to be mentioned. The presentation to vacant churches by lay patrons, having been abolished in 1649, was restored in 1662; and those clergymen who had, in the interval, entered on their benefices, were declared to be unlawful possessors. The act, however, granted them indemnity for the past, provided they agreed within a certain time to receive presentation from the patrons, and submit to be inducted by the bishops. This requisition was disregarded by about four hundred ministers, and the whole country was put into a ferment. A proclamation was under these

circumstances issued by the privy council, ordering such as had not obeyed the late act to lay aside their ministry and withdraw from their parishes; and the military who were stationed throughout the country, were commanded to pull out of their pulpits all those who, though interdicted, still presumed to exercise their sacred functions. In the presbytery of Wigton, consisting of ten members, not fewer than eight, refusing to conform, were forcibly torn from their congregations and deprived of their livings. Of these, Mr. George Waugh of Kirkinner was one.* It was at this time, namely, early in the year 1663, that Symson, with other episcopal ministers, were despatched to Galloway to supply the vacant churches there. "Though," says he, "we had not a formal and explicit call, yet we had it virtually and upon the matter; for after we had several Lord's days preached in our respective congregations for which we were designed, (seven Lord's days I am sure for my own part,) our edicts served and duly execute, the representatives of the parish attended on our ordinations, and the generality of the parish came to our solemn admissions; and thereafter waited on the ordinances under our administrations, yea, and the very members of the former sessions concurred with us, and assisted us in the exercise of discipline, and rectifying such affairs as was incumbent to them, after the old manner."†

* Mr. Waugh was confined along with Mr. John Cant, within the parish of Kells, and denied the exercise of his ministerial functions. Having left this place, he removed to Edinburgh, and in 1673, he, with others, were brought before the council, and ordered to return to their several places of confinement, by a certain day, or be apprehended as despisers of his majesty's authority. He was alive at the Revolution, but never reponed at Kirkinner.

The other ministers of the presbytery of Wigton, who refused to conform, were Archibald Hamilton of Wigton, Alexander Ross of Kirkeowan, William Maitland of Whithorn, Alexander Fergusson of Mochrum, William Maxwell of Minnigaff, Patrick Peacock of Kirkmabreck, and Robert Ritchie of Sorbie.—*Wodrow's History*, i. 324-7.

† *Preface to Symson's Tripatriarchicon*, inserted in the *Appendix* (No. ix.) to the printed *Large Description of Galloway*. Edin. 1823.

Such were the circumstances under which, according to his own account, he first came to Galloway, and entered upon the pastoral office in the parish of Kirkinner. The harmony with which he seems to have been inducted to his charge appears to have continued for some time. He used "all peaceable and Christian methods" to gain the "dissenters," as he termed the presbyterians. When the commander of the forces that were stationed in the stewartry, applied to him and his episcopal brethren for a list of these dissenters, they absolutely refused to comply, and deputed two of their number to announce this determination to that officer; a procedure on account of which, he says, they "were complained of as enemies to the government, and obstructers of the settlement of the peace of the country." But the result of such christian deportment was the prevalence of the greatest harmony between them and their parishioners, insomuch, he mentions, that at the battle of Pentland only two persons from Wigtonshire were present. When acts and proclamations, issued against the presbyterians, were about to be put in force in that part of the country, "we used," he states, "our utmost endeavours to ward off the blow; and by our intercession and diligence in that affair, we got the penalty most times mitigated, yea, and many times wholly taken off, for which we got but little thanks many times from both parties."*

This is the side of the picture most favourable to himself; and we cheerfully allow him all that liberality and benevolence to which he lays claim. His character, indeed, seems to have been very amiable; and no person, perhaps, could have acted a better part in the unhappy circumstances under which he was placed. But we doubt that he had mistaken quiet on the part of the people for acquiescence. The probability is, that when Mr. Waugh was forced away from them, they entertained those very opinions on account of which he had been deprived of his living, and that they afterwards proved true to them. The truth in short is, that whatever countenance the people of

* *Preface to Symson's Tripatriarchicon, ut supra.*

Kirkiner may at first have been disposed to show Mr. Symson, they afterwards withdrew it, and entirely deserted his ministry. He himself confessed that his hearers were reduced to "two or three." In a *Funeral Elegie*, written on the death of David Dunbar, younger of Baldoon, only son of Sir David Dunbar, Bart., who lost his life by a fall from his horse in 1682, while riding between Leith and Holyrood House, he has the following striking lines :

He was no schismatick ; he ne'er withdrew
Himself from th' house of God ; he with a few
(Some two or three,) came constantly to pray
For such as had withdrawn themselves away.
Nor did he come by fits ; foul day or fair,
I, being i' th' church, was sure to see him there.
Had he withdrawn, 'tis like these two or three,
Being thus discouraged, had deserted me.
So that my muse 'gainst Priscian avers
*He, he alone, were my parishioners.**

Nor was this desertion of him by his parishioners the only evil he was doomed to encounter. Amidst the distraction of the times, and the hatred of which the episcopal clergy were the objects, his brethren and himself were often "maltreated." But, though he mentions his being "necessitate to retire to a quiet lurking place," and that "frowns, mocks, and taunts" were his "daily bread and constant fare," yet, owing to his moderation and general worth, he was "for the most part free from those male-treatments that many of his brethren met with." His troubles, in truth, proceeded more from strangers than his own parishioners ; for the latter, to use his own words, "were

* Dunbar's sister seems to have been a person of opposite sentiments. "Mistress Mary Dunbar, second daughter to Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon, was forced to abscond and leave her father's house, and live for some time here and there, frequently in herds' houses, where she could not be accommodated according to her birth and rank. One day she very providentially and narrowly escaped the enemy's fury at the Caldons, about the year 1685." *Kirk-Session Records of Kirkiner* ; for extracts from which, I am indebted to the Rev. James Reid, the present incumbent. A full account of the persecutions to which the parish was exposed, was compiled in 1710 by the Session, and inserted in their minutes.

so kind to me, that, when they were advertised of any approaching danger, they have both by day and night advertised me thereof, upon which I have many times retired myself quietly into their country houses, where I was lodged and kindly entertained, and so escaped the danger I might otherwise have been subject to." Indeed, long after he had been forced from Kirkinner, he states that "his lot had been cast in a very pleasant place," and that "he had to do with a very well-natured people:"—"for which people," says he, "for I hate ingratitude, I shall have a kindness so long as I breathe." He showed the same mild and resigned spirit, when, in 1684, at the very moment of the hottest opposition shown to episcopacy, he speaks of that parish, "whereof," he states, "I have, (by the providence of God, and the protection of his Sacred Majesty's laws,) for more than twenty years, been a residenter, *per varios casus, et per discrimina rerum.*"

But he was not the only sufferer. Many of his people were exposed to fines, to imprisonment, and to death, on account of their non-conformity with the ecclesiastical polity to which he belonged. The persecution, indeed, which they endured, was extreme; of which we have, at present, room only to give two instances, taken from the *Session Records*.

"Margaret Laughlison [or M^cLaughan,] of known integrity and piety from her youth, aged about eighty, widow of John Millikin, wright in Drumjargan, was, in her own house, taken off her knees in prayer, and carried immediately to prison, and from one prison to another, without the benefit of light to read the Scriptures; was barbarously treated by dragoons, who were sent to carry her from Machirwood to Wigton, and being sentenced by Sir Robert Grier of Lagg to be drowned at a stake within the flood-mark, just below the town of Wigton, for conventical keeping and alleged rebellion, was, according to the said sentence, fixed to the stake till the tide made, and held down within the water by one of the town officers by his halbert at her throat till she died." Another female, it is well known, namely, Margaret Wilson, from the neighbouring pa-

rish of Penninghame, aged eighteen, was inhumanly drowned along with her.

“ William Sprot in Clutoch, being about 1685 obliged to leave his own house to shun persecution, went to Portpatrick on his way to Ireland, and there was apprehended and brought back on foot betwixt two dragoons, exactly by his own house door, to Wigton prison; his wife being big with child, followed him to the said prison, where she saw him laid on his back in the cold prison, put in the irons, his ears cut off, his fingers burnt by fiery matches, and afterwards he was sentenced to be banished to America, and in the voyage thither he died; he was a person eminent for piety; his poor wife with grief miscarried of her child.”

The inhabitants of Kirkiner being firmly attached to presbytery, and being thus visited with the severest persecution for conscience-sake, Mr. Symson, the episcopal minister of that parish, brought in against their inclination, in the place of a minister whom they adored, however amiable a man, could not expect much happiness or much respect in his official capacity as a clergyman. Nor did he enjoy much of either. His ministry, as we have seen, was deserted; his person insulted; and under these circumstances, after having continued in the parish for “twenty-three years,” or till 1686, he found it necessary to withdraw from a place where his labours were entirely unacceptable, and where he was daily exposed to peril and insult.*

Four years before this date, namely in 1682, a series of queries had been circulated throughout the kingdom by Sir Robert Sibbald, his majesty’s geographer for Scotland, with the view of procuring information preparatory to the publication of a Scottish Atlas. These queries attracted the attention of Symson, who undertook the task of drawing up *A Large Description of Galloway*, “not thinking it altogether eccentric to his profession to comply something with his genius.”

* *Preface to Tripatriarchicon, ut supra.*

This task he performed in 1684; but the troubles that ensued, he informs us, caused the papers to be laid aside, if not entirely forgotten, for some years; and it was not till 1692, when residing at Dalclathick, in Glenartney, Perthshire, that he carefully revised and enlarged the work, and wrote out that copy which Sir Robert Sibbald, along with other papers, deposited in the library of the Faculty of Advocates. It remained in manuscript till the year 1823, when it was published under the title of *A Large Description of Galloway, by Andrew Symson, minister of Kirkinner, 1684, with an Appendix, containing original papers* [referring to Galloway] *from the Sibbald and Macfarlane MSS.*

The work is one of the most judicious, minute, and interesting of the kind to which it belongs. Its statistics and miscellaneous information are important; but the account which it contains of the manners and customs that prevailed in Galloway towards the end of the seventeenth century, is invaluable, and as no such information is elsewhere to be found, its interest will every year increase. We know of no other county in Scotland that can boast of such a description as that which Symson has given of Galloway.

Where he settled, or how he was employed on his leaving Kirkinner, cannot now be ascertained. In 1692, six years after he had withdrawn from Galloway, and the year in which he revised and enlarged his *Description of Galloway*, we find him living in a remote part of the country, and stating that he had "time and leisure enough." He soon after this period became a printer in Edinburgh; though it is probable that printing was not the first trade to which he turned his attention on settling in that city. In an advertisement prefixed to an edition of M^r Kenzie's *Observations on the Statutes*, printed by him in 1698, he terms himself a merchant-burgess of Edinburgh. "In 1700," says Watson, in the preface to his *History of Printing*, "Mr. Matthew Symson, a student of divinity, set up a small house; but he, designing to prosecute his studies, left the house to his father, Mr. Andrew, one of the suffering clergy, who kept up the house till about a year ago

that he died." The subject of this memoir, however, had been established as a printer before the date referred to by Watson. He died in 1712. His library, which was extensive, was sold by public auction after his death. The catalogue was printed under the title of *Bibliotheca Symsoniana; a catalogue of the vast collection of books in the library of the late reverend and learned Mr. Andrew Symson.**

Symson was a married man, but of his wife, even of her name, nothing is known. He had a son, Matthew, as above-mentioned, who seems to have commenced life as a printer, but who was afterwards employed by James, Earl of Galloway, as tutor to his two brothers.† Of his other children, if he had any, no traces can be found.

He was the author of other works beside the *Description of Galloway*. In 1705, he published a poem, entitled *Tripatriarchicon; or the Lives of the three Patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, extracted forth of the sacred story, and digested into English verse*. He also published *Elegies*; but of this latter production, only one copy is known to be extant in Scotland. The *Elegies* are thirteen in number, and eleven of them were in honour of persons connected with the county in which he so long resided. His poems, if they deserve that name, are not entitled to praise as compositions of merit; but they shew their author to have been a man of great simplicity and benevolence of character. The following extract from a *meditation on death, occasioned by the funeral of the virtuous Lady Agnes McCulloch, relict of unquhile William Maxwell of Murreith, who died in 1684, may serve as a specimen of his versification*.

* This catalogue was printed in 1712, and extended to 34 quarto pages.

† The connexion between Mr. Andrew Symson and the noble house of Galloway, was most intimate. He had been the *con-disciple* of Earl Alexander, father to Earl James, mentioned in the text; a circumstance that perhaps occasioned his coming to Galloway, and his settlement in Kirkinner. He dedicated his *Tripatriarchicon* to the latter nobleman; and he availed himself of this occasion to give a minute and curious genealogical account of his lordship's family.

It was the vertuous lady here that lyes
 Abstracted, in this coffin, from our eyes,
 That gave my low-borne, home-bred muse th' occasion
 T' endite, and pen to write this meditation ;
 And therefore 't will not be amiss that I
 Should, though in short, ere I conclude, apply.

Her age was great, because she lived to see
 Her children's children to the third degree ;
 Yet, notwithstanding, I am bold to say,
 'Twas at the most but a short winter day.
 And to proceed, although she was not vext
 With quintessence of sorrow, nor perplext
 With flood and seas of grief, yet still I'll say,
 Her lifetime was a cloudy winter day.

She was a lady of great moderation,
 A virtue slighted by this generation.

The dowrie left her by her loving spouse
 She managed well ; she did not rant, carouse,
 Or spend as many wanton widows doe ;
 (And if 'twere fitting I could name them too,)
 Nor did she as a niggard hoord the same,
 (A fault for which some widows are to blame,)
 But she improv'd it well, and did provide
 For her descendants, and the poor beside.
 Her house was as an alms-house, she being ready
 To reach her hand forth to the poor and needy ;
 Yea more, I think, I need not doubt to call
Barneal, while she dwelt there, an hospital.

CHAPTER XI.

LIFE OF JAMES DALRYMPLE, VISCOUNT STAIR.

THE family from which the subject of this memoir was descended, is of great antiquity. The exact period of its origin cannot be ascertained: but mention of it is made in a charter of Robert II., in the year 1371. The name anciently assumed two forms, Dalrympill and Dalrimpill; and from a practice prevalent in the early ages, it is evidently local, and took its origin from the lands of Dalrymple, in the county of Ayr, which, at a remoter period than can now be traced, belonged to this family. At the time mentioned above, this barony was possessed in nearly equal parts by two persons of the name of Dalrymple, sprung, it is supposed, from a common progenitor, and who voluntarily sold or resigned their respective lands to John Kennedy of Dunure. But though they alienated their property, they retained the name which it had conferred on them. The Dalrymples, now separated into branches, settled in different parts of the kingdom. That branch, which has for centuries been regarded as the chief of the name, and from which the celebrated person whose life we profess to trace, was descended, became possessed of the lands of Stair in Ayrshire, in consequence of the marriage of William Dalrymple in 1451, to Agnes Kennedy, heiress of that estate.*

The Dalrymples of Stair have, from the earliest periods, been characterised as the friends and promoters of civil and re-

* Crawford's *Peerage*. Chalmers' *Caledonia*, 529.

ligious liberty. They were amongst the first in this country that adopted the reformed faith; and they have ever been ready to make any sacrifice, or undergo any labour, in behalf of the truth, and of sound and liberal principle.

James Dalrymple, afterwards President of the College of Justice in Scotland, and Viscount Stair, was the ninth of the family in lineal succession who had possessed the barony of Stair. He was born at Drummurhie, in the parish of Barr, Ayrshire, in the month of May 1619. His father, of the same name, died in 1624, when the subject of this memoir was only five years old; but his mother, (Janet, daughter of Kennedy of Knockdaw,) survived till 1663, and enjoyed the happiness of seeing her son elevated to places of trust and dignity. He received his elementary education at the school of Mauchline in his native county; and in 1633, when fourteen years of age, he was removed to the college of Glasgow; where he is said to have made such progress in his various classes, that he attracted the attention or acquired the friendship of the professors under whom he studied. He took the degree of A. M. in 1637; at which date he seems to have left the university. He had not the advantage of foreign travel; a mode of knowing the world common at that time to young gentlemen of Dalrymple's rank and circumstances. Instead of going abroad, he appears to have entered the army immediately on leaving college; and during the short period of his military life, he was stationed chiefly in Edinburgh, where he enjoyed every facility for adding to his knowledge of mankind, and for becoming master of those momentous questions, both as to church and state, by which the country was then agitated. Like the family from which he sprung, he embraced the views of the presbyterians, and disapproved of those arbitrary proceedings by which Charles I. endeavoured to annihilate that party, and to promote his own illiberal measures. Whether he was on active service during the civil war which began in 1639, I have not discovered. He rose to the rank of captain, and had the command of a company of foot in the Earl of Glencairn's regiment. But he did not follow the military profession so long

as to reap any of its higher honours. Possessing a natural turn for science and literature, and having at college obtained great eminence in these liberal pursuits, his predilection for letters soon taught him that the army was not a congenial field for the proper cultivation of his genius and taste. A vacancy having occurred in the university of Glasgow, and a programme having been issued inviting persons to apply for the vacant office, Dalrymple, happening at that time to be in Glasgow, was induced, chiefly through the solicitations of the professors, to whom he was known, to offer himself as a candidate. The offices in our Scottish universities were, at that period, invariably filled by comparative trial; and Dalrymple having, on this occasion, along with other competitors, gone through this ordeal, was elected professor of philosophy. When he appeared before the examiners, he was clad in "buff and scarlet," his military dress. For some time after his appointment, he retained his commission in the army; a singular union of offices.*

This situation, to which he was appointed in 1641, when only twenty-two years of age, afforded him a wider field for the exercise of his talents than he had yet enjoyed. He resumed the studies which his military life had interrupted. In addition to the branches connected with his own academical department, he devoted his leisure hours to classical literature, antiquities and history. He also assiduously turned his attention to the study of the civil law, which, at that time, was not taught in any college in Scotland. A knowledge of it could be acquired only by private study, or by resorting to foreign universities. It is still, as it was then, regarded as the most essential part of the education of a Scottish lawyer, forming, as it does, the basis of the municipal law in all matters not

* Forbes's *Journal of the Session*. Edin. fol. 1714. This respectable author, who was professor of law in the university of Edinburgh, prefixed to his work a preface containing *Lives* of the most celebrated Scottish lawyers before his time: among these Dalrymple holds a prominent place; and the sketch of him there given, though very brief, is the only one that has hitherto appeared.

depending on feudal principles. Dalrymple, as he had not enjoyed the benefit of foreign travel, was denied also the privilege of studying at any foreign seminary ; and the distinction, to which he afterwards attained in civil law, must be ascribed solely to his own application and merit, not to any adventitious advantages.

The class, characterised by the vague name of philosophy, which it was his duty to teach, embraced dialectics, ethics and politics, with arithmetic and geometry : a proof that division of labour was unknown in the seminary to which we refer. It is allowed on all hands that Dalrymple was an equally learned and successful teacher. His students held him in high respect ; and he could number among his pupils young men, with whom he then formed a friendship which continued through life, and who themselves afterwards attained to distinction. But his connexion with the college did not long continue ; for he resigned his chair at the end of the session 1647, after having filled it with honour for six years. In the month of April preceding, he intimated to the patrons his intention of retiring, and suggested to them the propriety of their selecting a proper person to succeed him.*

He had had his views directed, before this period, to the law as a profession more suited to his taste, and that held out nobler prospects of his rising to eminence. During the time he had been connected with the college of Glasgow, as a professor, he had been engaged soliciting grants for the increase of the revenue of that seminary, and in other important matters ; and, while his birth and talents pointed him out as the fittest person to be put forward on these occasions, such employment, bringing him into contact with the great men at the head of public business, whether in the government or in the law, redounded much to his future advantage, and had no small share in determining him in favour of that profession, of which he afterwards became the ornament. His studies, during the time

* MS. communication, obtained from the records of Glasgow University, with which I was favoured by my friend the Rev. Duncan Clerk, now minister of Torosay.

he continued a professor in Glasgow, had been made to correspond with these views; and having left that city in 1647, he entered advocate at the Scottish bar on the 7th of February of the following year.*

Before this period, indeed so early as the year 1643, he had married Margaret, eldest daughter and co-heiress of Major James Ross of Balniel in the county of Wigton; a lady by whom he got a large estate. This union subsisted for forty-nine years, with great happiness to both parties. His only sister-in-law, Christian Ross, became the wife of Sir Thomas Dunbar of Mochrum, in the same county.†

Dalrymple, in his new profession, soon attracted attention, and obtained distinction in consequence both of his abilities and application. On the death of Charles I. in 1649, and again in the following year, commissioners were despatched from the church and parliament of Scotland to his son, then in Holland, to treat with him respecting his accession to the throne of his forefathers. To these commissioners Dalrymple had the honour of being appointed secretary. The conditions wished to be imposed on the prince were very rigid and uncompromising; and the only mention made of the person who forms the subject of this memoir is, that contrary to the wish of his clerical associates, he was anxious “to close the treaty with the king, and to favour the views of the lay commissioners.”‡ Charles at length accepted the conditions offered him; but it was not long till he broke his most solemn vow; and he afterwards visited with persecution those by whom the principles to which he now attached his name were professed and inculcated. Whether the characteristic moderation of Dalrymple on this occasion was judicious, it is difficult to say; but he gained the royal favour by it. “He gave,” says Forbes, “great proof of his abilities, sincerity and moderation; for which the king did ever after esteem him.” He took advantage of being in Holland to visit the universities, and to pay his respects to the great men of

* Forbes's *Journal*.

† Douglas's *Baronage*, 117.

‡ *MS. Life of John Livingstone*, 71.

that country. It was the first time he had been on the continent; and he seems to have availed himself, as much as possible, of the limited period, during which the duties of his profession allowed him to be absent.

On his return he found that he had been nominated one of a committee to revise the old books of laws, the acts of parliament, and the practice of the several judicatories; an appointment which shewed the estimation in which, as a lawyer, he was already held.

Cromwell, in the year 1654, having abolished the Court of Session, as it had been originally constituted, and having sent down English Judges, to whom he added some members of the Scottish bar, denominated them "Commissioners for Administration of Justice." The number of these commissioners never at any time exceeded seven; and they were at one period so low as four. Before this time the court consisted of two divisions, the outer and the inner house; of which a quorum in the latter was four. It is evident, therefore, that when the number of commissioners was reduced to this number, the outer house was at least virtually abolished. Under such circumstances, the faculty of advocates, in 1656, sent a deputation of four of their body, of whom Dalrymple was one, to petition the commissioners to restore and maintain the outer house. The application was listened to, and the two divisions of the court were preserved.

On the death of Sir James Lermonth of Balcomie in 1657, one of the commissioners, their number was reduced to four, the minimum of the inner house. A successor required instantly to be appointed. Dalrymple, though he had not been ten years at the bar, had arrived at the summit of his profession; and his name for talents, legal knowledge and integrity, was not surpassed, if equalled, by any of his contemporaries. The protector's council in Scotland had, therefore, little difficulty in filling up the important charge now vacant. Three days, indeed, before Balcomie's death, General Monck, as the organ of the council, had recommended him to Cromwell, in anticipation of that event, as a proper person to be elevated

to the bench.* “ I make bold,” says he, “ to mention to your highnesse, one Mr. James Dalrymple, as a person fit to be a judge, being a very honest man, a good lawier, and one of a considerable estate ; there is scarce any Scotchman or Englishman, who hath bin much in Scotland, but know him, of whome your highnesse may enquire further concerning him.” †

After the vacancy had taken place, (June 26th), Monck, after alluding to the necessity of maintaining the outer house, which could not be done unless by the immediate nomination of another judge, writes as follows: “ beleeveing it,” says he, “ to bee your highnesse’s intention, that they should supply such a present exigency in a time so pressing, they bethought, and have pitched upon a person of eminent abilities, namely, Mr. James Dalrymple, an advocat ; of whose qualifications and good affections they have ample satisfaction, to be one of the said commissioners for administration of justice, at the same salary which the Lord Belchomy had, being three hundred pounds *per annum*, according to the establishment for the Scotche judges ; of which choice they humbly crave leave to desire your highnesse’s approbation.” ‡

This elevation was not only unsought, but unexpected, on the part of Dalrymple. Nor was it accepted without considerable hesitation. By continuing his practice at the bar, his income would have been much greater than the allowance made him as a judge. He had, besides, an aversion to take office under an usurper. Some time before, when the Tender was imposed, abjuring the royal family of the Stuarts, he had refused taking it, and withdrawn, in consequence, from

* Lord Brodie, who had been on the bench previously to the change which, as already stated, had been made in the constitution of the court, had, a few days before declined, in consequence of sickness and infirmity, to resume his judicial functions. In six months afterwards, however, he allowed himself to be reponed. *Thurloe’s State Papers*, vi. 346. Hailes’ *Catalogue*.

† *Thurloe*, vi. 367. This letter is dated Edinburgh, 23d June 1657.

‡ *Ib. ib.* 372.

the bar, as did many other lawyers. Nor did he return till that obligation was dispensed with, or the refusal of taking it connived at. Had he been left to himself, he would probably have declined the preferment altogether; but on its being shewn him, by the most judicious men of the day, that the people of Scotland were most anxious that the vacant office should be filled by a native Scotsman, and by one distinguished for integrity and knowledge of the law,—and, moreover, a difference being insisted on between holding any civil appointment under an usurper in councils of state, and the dispensation of justice to his fellow-subjects, and the oath of allegiance being dispensed with,* he accepted the office so handsomely offered him; to which he was admitted, under the title of Lord Stair, on the 1st of July 1657.†

But though he held this commission from the motives and under the conditions just stated, he would not, though invited to do so, avail himself of a seat in parliament, or in the council of state; because such appointment he regarded as abetting usurpation, and as identifying himself with the measures of a government, the legality of which he could not recognise, and which he afterwards exerted himself to destroy.

The preferment in question was not the only mark of respect which Monck showed him. This celebrated man on all occasions reposed confidence in him, and not unfrequently asked his advice and was guided by it. “The day before General

* *An Apology for Sir James Dalrymple of Stair, president of the session, written by himself.* This pamphlet, of which a few copies only are known to exist, extends to four quarto leaves, closely printed. It bears the date of 1690; at which period it was written, as shall afterwards be mentioned, in refutation of various slanders propagated against him. It is a curious document, throws great light on his character, and contains much valuable information.

† Sir Matthew Hale, whose character in many respects resembles that of Dalrymple, was induced to accept of the situation of a judge under Cromwell, from similar principles. “Having considered well of it,” says Bishop Burnet, “he came to be of opinion, ‘that it being absolutely necessary to have justice and property kept up at all times, it was no sin to take a commission from usurpers, if he made no declaration of acknowledging their authority.’”—Burnet’s *Life of Hale*.

Monck went into England to settle the distractions which the sectaries had bred there, he called Judge Dalrymple to a private conference, desiring his opinion freely what was best to be done for settling the three nations; to which he readily answered, that the wisest and fairest way was to procure a meeting of a full and free parliament; and recommended earnestly to the General to interpose at London effectually for setting the course of justice a-going, which was then stopt by reason of the disorder and unsettledness of the times: which counsel the General followed.* Lord Stair at the same time used his influence at home to unite all parties in the royal cause, and to effect the restoration of Charles; and when that auspicious event took place, he lost no time in repairing to London to congratulate his majesty on his return; on which occasion the honour of knighthood was conferred on him. The king having, in 1661, restored the Court of Session to the state in which it had stood previously to the commonwealth, Stair was nominated one of the judges. Nor was this all. Lord Middleton, the royal commissioner for Scotland, on being applied to by the court to name a vice-president in room of Lord Craigmiller, the president, who had been called to London by the king, appointed the subject of this memoir to fill his place; and Stair was ever afterwards, in absence of Craigmiller, selected by the judges to preside in his room. This distinction necessarily pointed him out as a proper person to be raised to the president's chair so soon as a vacancy should occur. This event at last took place owing to the death of Craigmiller; and Stair accordingly, (17th January 1671,) had the honour of being nominated his successor.†

But there are some circumstances of his life, which happened previously to this time, that must not be passed over in silence. In the first parliament of Charles II. a Declaration was framed characterising the taking up arms against the king, under any pretence whatever, as sedition, and the National Covenant, as sworn to in 1638, and the

* Forbes's *Journal*.

† *Ib.*

Solemn League and Covenant, as unlawful obligations ; which declaration every man was obliged to make, in order to be continued in any place of trust, or admitted to it. This obligation was tendered to his colleagues for subscription in 1663, at a time when he was absent from town, in consequence of the death of his mother. And of these distinguished persons, with the honourable exception of Sir James Dundas of Arniston, none scrupled to sign the obnoxious paper ; a document which went to establish non-resistance and passive obedience, and which conferred irresponsible power on the king. Such a measure could not but excite great alarm and uneasiness in the breast of Stair, who was distinguished not more for his loyalty than his love of liberty. To a man, indeed, possessed of any thing like liberal sentiments, there was in this case no room for hesitation. And Stair seems accordingly to have at once decided not to recognise such unconstitutional enactments, and to remain true to the solemn and deliberate obligations under which both himself and all his countrymen had come. He forfeited office, and incurred the risk of losing the royal favour, by immediately sending his resignation to the king ; and when his colleagues, not aware of this fact, intimated to him by letter that he required to sign the declaration within a certain time, else his situation would be regarded as vacant, and no written explanation or apology accepted, he announced to them that, before the date of their communication, he had ceased to be one of their number. On receiving this answer, the judges declared his place vacant. He, meanwhile, remained at his country-seat in Wigtonshire for a year, unmolested by the government, but, as he himself declares, without the least desire or hope of restoration to his official duties. He was at length, however, solicited by the king to wait on him in London ; with which invitation he thought it his duty to comply. His majesty, on seeing him, informed him that he was unwilling to accept his resignation ; that his place had not been filled up ; and that he was desirous he should resume his station in the court. Such conduct was honourable to the character of both parties. But Stair declined complying with

the royal wishes, and stated that nothing could induce him to recognise so offensive a document as the one he had been commanded to sign. The king, with greater liberality than he generally displayed, having requested to know on what terms he would consent to sign the declaration, Stair replied that he was willing to declare in general terms against whatever was opposite to his majesty's just rights and prerogatives, provided, (with the view of providing against contingencies in these slippery times,) that such terms were granted to him by the king in writing. These conditions received the sanction of Charles ; who, as a farther mark of his favour, conferred on him the title of baronet ; and Stair having been favoured with a letter from the king addressed to the judges of the Court of Session, resumed his place in that court on the 21st of April 1664.*

The stand which this eminent individual made on this occasion shows the most enlightened views and a conscientious regard for truth and right principle. Happy had it been had his colleagues and the statesmen of his day entertained the same sentiments as to civil government, by which he was characterised. " Since I was capable of considering the subject," says he, " I have been ever persuaded that it was both against the interest and duty of kings to use arbitrary government ; that both kings and subjects had their titles and rights by law ; and that an equal balance of prerogative and liberty was necessary for the happiness of a commonwealth."† Such liberal sentiments, though then not duly appreciated, and though the public avowal of them was not unattended with danger, he had the satisfaction of seeing completely triumphant before his death.

In 1670, commissioners were appointed by the parliament from Scotland to meet with commissioners from England, to treat of the union of the two kingdoms. Of the Scottish commissioners, (twenty-five in number), Lord Stair was one ; and though the attempt was unsuccessful, we are told that

* Forbes's *Journal* ; and Stair's *Apology*.

† *Apology*.

“ My Lord Rothes, Sir John Nisbet, the king’s advocate, and Sir James Dalrymple, did behave themselves well in that affair.”*

When Lord Stair had been invested with his new dignity as president of the supreme court in 1671, as previously mentioned, he availed himself of the influence, with which this high office invested him, to effect many important improvements in the constitution and regulations of that judicatory. Even before this time, he had been the author of reform in the procedure of that court. “ He began,” says Mr. Forbes, “ the calling of causes by the order of roll in his course as ordinary, before the act was made ; whose example in firmly adhering to that rule brought to perfection a thing which, (though designed at the institution of the college of justice, and ordered by many acts, by the king’s approbation), took no effect till then.”† The improvements alluded to seem to have been of the most judicious kind ; but it is not necessary at present either to specify or consider them. Nor indeed does the present writer deem himself fitted for such a task. It need merely be mentioned that, with singleness of heart, he devoted his time and his talents to the most conscientious discharge of his official duties, and to the promotion of the purity and efficiency of the court over which he presided. He attended in his place so regularly that, during the whole time he held the office of a judge, he was scarcely a single day absent, and for ten successive years, he states that he never had been once absent. He spent his vacant hours in hard study, and in recording the decisions and procedure of the court. “ I did carefully and faithfully observe the debates and decisions of the Lords of Session during all the time I was in it, in all important cases which were not come to be uncontroverted as a beaten path, or were obvious to common capacities, and I did seldom eat or drink, and scarce ever slept before I perused the information that passed every sederunt day, and set down the decisions of the Lords while they were fresh in my memory.”‡

* *Law’s Memorials*, 31.

† *Journal*, 31.

‡ *Apology*.

There is one circumstance connected with this part of his life, mention of which, as it has been made the subject of much discussion, must not be omitted. I allude to the alleged share which he had in the misunderstanding which took place, in 1674, between the privy council and the bar, and the consequent banishment from the city of about fifty of the advocates.

At this time, the right of appeal from the decisions of the Court of Session to Parliament was not recognised, though one or two attempts had been made by litigants and their council to act as if such a right existed. But this right, which undoubtedly forms a most salutary check on the court, was not established by law till the Revolution. In the year 1674, an appeal was lodged to Parliament against the line of procedure in an important case; and till such procedure was rescinded, the defender's council regarded themselves as "not obliged to answer." * This attempt, the real nature of which will be found

* It was a case in which the Earl of Dunfermline was pursuer, and the Earl of Callender defender. "Several delays had already been obtained that Callender might be present, and the last diet at which the advocates undertook to answer being come, the defender wished farther delay on the ground that it is statuted that where the Lords, for the intricacy or importance of causes, reported from the outer house, ordain them to be heard in praesentia, that the same should be enrolled in the inner house, according to the date of that interlocutor, and discussed accordingly; till which be done, they are not obliged to answer."

"It was answered, that diets being given and taken to answer the points proposed, they could not now return to this dilator, which might have been proposed the first day, and required not Callender's presence to inform; and that this cause not being enrolled, the Lords, according to their ordinary custom, might appoint any point therein to be farther cleared, as the Lords have always been accustomed to do, and which quadrates with the intent of the act for preventing uncertain attendance; for the parties being obliged to attend the debate in the outer house, ought not then to refuse to answer immediately in the inner house, but after the cause is enrolled in the inner house, they are *in tuto* to go home, and not obliged to answer till their time.

"The Lords repelled the defender's allegiance, and declared that if they would not debate in their presence, they would advise the dispute reported from the outer house, and allow to either party time to give their informa-

in the note below, was regarded as insolent on the part of those by whom it was made, and the advocates concerned in it incurred the severe displeasure of the judges. The Court of Session being the ultimate tribunal in any case brought before it, such an attempt as the one in question was illegal; and, if allowed, calculated to impair the respectability of the judicatory from which the appeal was made, and to shake the public confidence in its decisions. The state of the law may have been bad; but for this the judges were not responsible. Their duty was to assert their privileges according to the law as it then existed; and, under these circumstances, as the counsel refused to plead, or enter on the merits of the case, unless a reversal of the procedure complained of was granted, the judges had no alternative; the authority and statutes of their court was at stake; and it was thought proper to expel Sir George Lockhart and Sir John Cunningham, the refractory counsel, from the bar. The judges submitted the whole matter to government; and the privy council stepped forward to maintain the dignity of the tribunal that had been insulted, and banished Cunningham and Lockhart, with about fifty of the bar who had espoused their quarrel, twelve miles from the capital. They continued a year in exile; at the end of which period, they were allowed to return and resume their official privileges, "many of them having satisfied the offended Lords with acknowledgment of their error and serious repentance; while all of them, after they had tasted the bitterness of loss of gain for a session or two, concluded the war with accommodation and submission."*

Whether this proceeding on the part of the privy council was politic or not, this is not the place to decide. But as Lord Stair has been unjustly blamed as the author and instigator of

tion, and thereby to enlarge the debate as far as they pleased."—Stair's *Decisions*, Feb. 5, 1674.

An appeal being entered, the Lords characterised it as illegal, and "represented to the king the whole matter, that such preparatives might be prevented in time coming." *Ib.* *ib.*

* Kirkton's *History*, 347, 8.

it, we have thought it proper to meet the charge. His Lordship undoubtedly regarded the conduct of counsel referred to as arrogant and illegal; and he concurred with his colleagues in inflicting on them that punishment which the case was supposed to merit. But he went no farther. The privy council alone was responsible for the subsequent proceedings. His own words are decisive on the subject. "I have been quarreled for being the author of the banishing of the advocates from Edinburgh in the year 1674, *whereof I was altogether free*; for it was done in the vacant time when I was in the country, and the inspection of the sederunts of the council will demonstrate that in that whole vacance I was not present." Other allegations equally false respecting the bar were made against him; but all such attacks originated in the violence of the times, and in the envy occasioned by Stair's subsequent great power and preferment.*

Lord Stair, as is evident from the foregoing extract, was a member of the privy council: but a judge, particularly the president of the supreme court, is understood to be above all party-politics, and to discharge his important functions for the good of his fellow-citizens, uninfluenced by the character and proceedings of the government under whose authority he administers justice. The illustrious individual, of whom we are speaking, seems to have regulated his conduct on this salutary principle. He was seldom present at any meeting of council during the vacation of the court, which sat, (as it still does,) only six months annually; and even during the other half of the year, he appears not to have attended regularly, especially if official duties required his presence elsewhere. When he did attend, however, he always interposed in favour of moderate and cautious measures; while he never ceased to oppose every thing of an illiberal or unjust tendency. He frequently declared in his place at the council board, that though, in other courts, judges have no option, but must rigidly administer the law, however severe or inexpedient, yet that the council to whom

* Forbes's *Journal*, 34. *Apology*.

the king had intrusted the policy and government of the nation lay under no such obligation ; and that prudence, moderation, and equity, should characterise all their proceedings. He remonstrated frequently and openly against those cruel and arbitrary measures which the government indulged against the presbyterians. “ So far was I,” says he, “ from being the author or justifier of the severities used against those of my own profession, of whom many are my witnesses, that I did what I durst to save them ; and I was always so esteemed, and often publicly reproached in council for so doing.” When, in 1678, it was resolved to bring the Highland host, (amounting to 6000, whose barbarous proceedings are well known,) into the western counties, in order to keep down the cause of presbytery and the covenant, his lordship not only remonstrated with all freedom and faithfulness against the measure, but entered his dissent in the council books. He made the same determined opposition when the Bonds of peace were proposed. These Bonds contained an obligation on the part of those who subscribed them, under severe pains and penalties, that they would apprehend and bring to justice every presbyterian minister that came in their power, who had kept conventicles ; and that they would prevent their tenants, the servants of their tenants, with their own families and domestics, from withdrawing from the episcopal ministers, from attending conventicles, or succouring field-preachers and persons intercommuned. The subscription of such an obligation was tantamount to the renouncing of presbytery ; and yet, though the gentlemen of the west, on whose account it was framed, magnanimously refused to recognise it, it is a remarkable fact, that of the judges of the supreme court and of the members of the privy council, Lord Stair was the only one that had the public spirit, not only not to subscribe it, but to resist it and to lodge his dissent against it. I regard this statement as highly honourable to the character of this distinguished person. Had he not been a judge, he would, I have no doubt, have made a noble stand against the arbitrary proceedings of government, and manfully have espoused the cause of the suffering presby-

terians, and united his fortune with theirs. Well might he exclaim, “ God knows I had no pleasure in the affairs then agitated in council.” *

Nor was it only in resisting bad measures, but in recommending and promoting good ones, that he deserves such honourable mention. He stood high in the estimation of the Duke of Lauderdale, of whose intentions, at least, (for long after his death he spoke of him as having been “ most zealous for the honour of his country,” and as having been “ overruled by measures before he came to his greatness,”) † he seems to have had a more favourable opinion than impartial judges now entertain. With all the rancour and illiberality of his disposition, he was, in truth, the best minister that Scotland knew during the two reigns that preceded the Revolution; and the only show of kindness and indulgence that the presbyterians of that black period experienced was at his hands. Stair used his influence with that celebrated minister to obtain several acts of council corrective of the abuses that then obtained. Persons cited on ecclesiastical matters, for example, had previously had no specialities of time or place stated in their respective summonses, but only one or two of the days of all the months for several years were mentioned. Persons accused were thus put to their oath on the whole libel, “ whereby,” says Stair, “ many had been holden as confest, and thereupon fined, imprisoned, and transported like slaves to foreign plantations.” ‡ Criminal prosecutions were not conducted at this time with much impartiality; but the change effected by Stair, namely the specific mention of time and place, was one of the greatest improvements that could have been accomplished. § Of the character of the criminal court he entertained so

* *Apology.*

† *Ib.*

‡ *Ib.*

§ Lauderdale, it may be mentioned as a picture of the times, incurred the displeasure of the infamous Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews, and of the court, for carrying into effect Stair's excellent suggestion. This prelate wrote to the bishops in England and to the government, that Lauderdale had by this step overturned the settlement of the nation, and done more, during the first month he had been in power in Scotland, against the royal interest, than could be retrieved for the next seven years. *Ib.*

unfavourable an opinion, that though solicited, both before and after the Restoration, to become a judge init, with a handsome addition of salary, he absolutely declined the offer; and when upwards of seventy years of age, he mentions with a feeling of self-gratulation, "I did never meddle in any eriminal court, nor was I ever judge, pleader, juror, or witness therein."*

But probably the most important act of his life as a public man remains yet to be told. "I was ever," says he, "fully persuaded, since I came to ripeness of age, of the truth of the Protestant religion, and of the constitution and government of my mother country, as reformed from popery and prelacy."† He had been educated in the presbyterian faith, to which he ever steadfastly adhered, and the presbyterians, we are informed, placed great confidence in him.‡ From his dignity and situation as a judge, it was not in his power to take active steps in their favour, though we have found him, as a privy councillor, interpose with energy in their behalf. He did not, we think, applaud the conduct of the more rigid or violent of the presbyterians; on the contrary, he approved of the conduct of the moderate party; and he suggested to the whole of that suffering body, the propriety of supporting the Duke of Lauderdale, in order to overcome the prejudices which the king entertained against them, and thus to ward off the severities under which they groaned. Burnet terms him "a man of great temper and of a very mild disposition;" and, accordingly, from his want of energy in their cause, and from his intimacy with the Duke of Lauderdale, he lost at length the confidence of the presbyterians. But his own principles remained unaffected and unchanged, though "prudence," says he, "allowed me not at all times to make noise."§ When the duke of York, afterwards James II., came to Scotland, he was received with great pomp by the privy council and the other constituted authorities. The judges of the Court of Session, with the members of the college of justice, waited on his royal

* *Apology.*

‡ Burnet's *Own Times*, i. 413, Lond. 1818.

† *Ib.*

§ *Apology.*

highness at Holyrood, on which occasion the president, in name of the court of which he was the head, addressed him in a congratulatory speech. The duke being suspected of a leaning to popery, and a bill of exclusion having been discussed in the English parliament, Stair, taking advantage of these circumstances, said, among other things, that "the nation being entirely protestant, it is the fittest place your royal highness could have made your recess to at this time." Not content with these words, which gave offence to many, Stair afterwards used his influence privately with him to induce him to take no steps which might weaken the establishment of the protestant religion.*

The attachment to the reformed religion, or rather to the presbyterian faith, which Lord Stair here displayed, circumstances soon enabled him to manifest in a more public and efficient manner. He was a member of the parliament that met in 1681, as one of the representatives for Wigtonshire. Among other important acts of that assembly, one was proposed fixing the indefeasible right of succession to the throne, without any regard to religious belief; a test pretended to be for the better security of the protestant faith, but to which were subjoined a recognition of royal supremacy, a disavowal of the solemn league and covenant, and an obligation to attempt no changes in civil or ecclesiastical matters without the permission of the king. To this obnoxious test Stair, who had previously resisted other similar obligations, could not give his acquiescence. But as the tide at this time ran so high in favour of royalty, the difficulty was in what manner to resist it. As the term protestant religion, which occurred in the act, was vague, and might be interpreted differently by different individuals, Stair, with the design of rendering the statute abortive, artfully moved that the Confession of Faith framed by Knox and the early reformers, should be considered as the standard. This confession teaches resistance to tyrants as a duty, and fixes limitations to the supreme power, and altogether inculcates principles at variance with the other provisions of the

* Forbes's *Journal*.

act to which it was joined. The Confession in question, though Stair was intimately acquainted with it, was unknown to almost every other member; even the prelates, says Burnet, had never read it; and when the test, with the important modification in question, passed into a law, which was done very hurriedly, it was ascertained not only to be unreasonably long for an oath, but one part of it to be contradictory of the other.* On this account, indeed, Stair expected it would fall to the ground, and be a dead letter. But arbitrary power was too triumphant to allow such benevolent expectations to be realized. For while many persons most attached to the crown scrupled to take the test as it then stood, and the more patriotic and independent declined it altogether, the privy council published what they regarded as a solution or explanation of some difficulties attending it, which seems to have quieted their conscience, and to have satisfied their submissive adherents. And in this way, says Wodrow, “it became for many years a handle for persecuting even to the death great numbers, and some of them of very considerable rank, and oppressing multitudes of noblemen, gentlemen, and others, who would not comply with it.”† Stair himself, as he had failed in his enlightened object, would not, of course, subscribe it. “Though,” to use his own words, “I was well pleased with the first part of it,” namely, that which his own amendment included, “which was the safest hedge against papists that ever I saw, yet I could not sign the latter part of it.”‡

The consequences of this conduct on the part of Stair may easily be conjectured. The test, which passed into a law on the last day of August 1681, required to be signed by all in places of trust and importance before the subsequent month of January. But before the arrival of that period, he travelled to London, with the view of waiting on the king and resigning his office as president of the Session. On his arrival, however, he

* The duke of York, when Stair's amendment was carried, declared that he had ruined all honest men by it, meaning, of course, papists in particular. —*Apology.*

† Wodrow's *Church Hist.* iii. 295.

‡ *Apology.*

was not only refused admittance to the royal presence, but informed that a new commission for the Session had been issued, in which his name did not appear.* Never was there a more flagrant instance of the prostitution of royal authority than this. “I neither did resign,” says Stair, “nor was excluded by the act of the test, seeing the day was not yet come, *but by mere arbitrary power.*” “This dismissal,” to use the words of Lord Pitmedden, “makes the places of judges, which by the act of James VI. were *ad vitam aut culpam*, become arbitrary.”†

The dismissal of Stair could not give him much uneasiness. He had, when a young man, and when office was of greater importance to him, resigned his rank and situation as a judge, rather than sacrifice or compromise his principles. The consolation of having done his duty, both as a judge and a senator, was sufficient to compensate him for even a greater insult than that offered him. He was, besides, now advanced in years; he had been in public employment nearly forty years; above one half of which time he had had a seat on the bench; and it is evident that about this period he had meant to retire; an intention which he had communicated to some of his private friends. Though he had been very happy in the mutual affection of his colleagues, both while he was at the bar, and since he had been elevated to the bench, yet, “I wish,” he declares, “to have some remnant of my life, of which I might be master, without diversion.”‡

Before his connexion with the court of Session was dissolved, he had begun to print his celebrated book, entitled, *The Institutions of the Law of Scotland, deduced from its originals, and collated with the civil and feudal laws, and with the customs of neighbouring nations.* It is inscribed to the king, but the dedication had passed through the press ere he had lost the royal favour. The following extract from it is not uninteresting:—“It is but little short of forty years since

* Three other judges were displaced at the same time, namely, Sir Thomas Murray of Glendoick, Sir John Baird of Newbyth, and the Earl of Argyll, the latter an *extraordinary* Lord of Session.

† *Apology*; and Hailes's *Catal.* p. 25. ‡ *Dedication to Decisions.*

I have followed the study and practice of law, constantly and diligently, so that those who will not deny me reason and capacity, can hardly deny knowledge and experience in the subject I write of. My modesty did not permit me to publish it, lest it should be judicially cited where I sat: but now, becoming old, I have been prevailed with to print it, while I might oversee the press. It was not vanity and ambition that set me on work; but being so long a servant to God and your majesty in the matter of justice, I thought it my duty not to smother my thoughts of the immaculate righteousness of God Almighty in his moral law, and of the fulness and fitness of your majesty's laws, that I might promote your honour and the good of your subjects."

This work is one of the most important books on law that has appeared in any language, and has raised the name of the author to the highest place in the department to which it belongs. His "Institutions," says Professor Forbes, "are so useful, that few considerable families in Scotland, not to mention professed lawyers, do want them. He hath therein so cleared up the springs and grounds of our law, that had been dammed up from ordinary observation by rust and rubbish, and reduced it into a sound and solid body, (for which he deserves to be reckoned a founder and restorer of our law), that if it were lost, it might be retrieved, and the tenor of it made up out of his excellent Institutions."* "It is not without cause," to use the words of Mr. Brodie, "that the profound and luminous disquisitions of Lord Stair have commanded the general admiration of Scottish lawyers. Having brought to the study of jurisprudence a powerful and highly cultivated intellect, he was qualified to trace every rule to principle. Yet such was his sterling practical good sense that he rarely allowed himself to be carried away by theory, too frequently the failing of philosophic minds, less endowed with this cardinal virtue. * * * His philosophy and learning have

* *Journal.*

enabled him to enrich jurisprudence with a work, which, in embodying the rules of law, clearly develops the ground on which they are founded.”*

Stair now retired to his seat in the parish of Glenluce, Wigtonshire, under the positive assurance that, though he had been deprived of his office, he should be allowed to enjoy quiet and security in the country. Under this impression, he must have looked forward with much delight to those rural or literary pursuits, which could not but have yielded him much enjoyment. He had within himself all the elements of happiness. His character was high and unblemished; his mind was richly cultivated; his domestic circumstances were comfortable; his fortune was ample. He required nothing to ensure him an old age equally dignified and happy, but safety and non-interference. But these blessings, whatever promises had been made, were not granted him. He was regarded with suspicion; his tenants were imprisoned and forced to give bond in more than they were worth, on account of their attending conventicles; his rents were arrested; and fearing to be himself apprehended and impeached, he consulted the Lord Advocate whether he could remain in Scotland in quiet. Sir George Mackenzie, who then held that office, readily answered in the negative, and advised him to withdraw to the continent. Accordingly, in October 1682, about a year after his retirement, he emigrated to Holland, “the place of the greatest common safety.”†

But the emigration of Lord Stair did not satisfy the government. His independent conduct in parliament, and the freedom he had used with the Duke of York on his arrival in Scotland, were crimes not to be forgiven. But a fresh charge was now made against him in his absence. He was

* *Preface* to Mr. Brodie's excellent edition of the *Institutes*, Edin. 1826. Another impression (1828) has since appeared, under the superintendence of Mr. John S. More, another eminent member of the Scots bar.

† *Law's Memorials*, 236. *Apology*.

accused of high treason on the ground of "harbour and reset of rebels," inasmuch as persons on his estate had attended conventicles, and some of them had been present at Bothwell bridge. He was summoned successively to appear before the Court of Justiciary, the Privy Council, and Parliament, accused of high treason. "Hundreds of examinations and re-examinations were taken against me, even of my most intimate domestic servants, and my sister-in-law, (Lady Dunbar of Mochrum), not in the regular way for probation, but by way of inquisition, to found a process upon any special matter." But this, he subjoins, was not done, "because nothing was found against law." Alluding to his character as a judge, which was also impugned, he observes, "No man was found to witness the least malversation or baseness, by indirect interest in any cause, by taking any bribe or reward, by partiality or insolvency, though nothing would have been more acceptable to the Court, than by one blow against my fortune and fame, to have ruined me upon malversation in my trust as a judge."*

But the vengeance, which proved ineffectual against him at home, pursued him abroad. In our *Life of Mr. M'Ward*, we found the English government apply to the States General, requesting them to remove certain obnoxious individuals out of Holland, where they had taken refuge. A similar application was made on the present occasion, and frequently repeated; but without success. The Prince of Orange and the States entertained too enlightened views to lend their sanction to a proceeding so manifestly tyrannical and unjust.

On his arrival in Holland, he seems to have chosen Leyden

* *Apology*. "After I was gone," says he, "my eldest son was fined in L.500 sterling upon Claverhouse's pickish accusation, that as baillie of the regality of Glenluce, he had fined too low for conventicles, and thereafter he was taken summarily without citation, and brought to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, as if he had been a malefactor, and detained three months, and then let go upon bond of confinement, without showing the least pretence of a cause, though he had never meddled in any public matter, but had served in good reputation and employment as an advocate." Claverhouse and his brother David Graham were at this time (684), joint sheriffs of Wigtonshire.

as his place of residence. A person who had for forty years led so active a life as we have found Lord Stair do, could not spend his old age in inglorious ease. We have already spoken of his keeping a daily record of the decisions of the court of Session. He did so regularly for twenty years previous to 1681, when he was removed from his seat in that judicatory. Before this event took place, he had intimated to the king his intention of publishing them; and on submitting the same resolution to his colleagues, he not only obtained their approbation, but was honoured with their thanks. Part I. of this judicious and valuable work, entitled, *The Decisions of the Lords of Council and Session, in the most important cases debate before them, with the acts of Sederunt, from June 1661 to July 1681, observed by Sir James Dalrymple of Stair, Knight and Baronet*, was printed at Edinburgh, and published in 1684. The dedication to the Lord Chancellor and the Judges of the Court to which his book refers, is dated at Leyden, 9th November in that year. Part II., inscribed as before to the Judges, was published at Edinburgh in 1687. "He judiciously observed the Decisions of the Session," according to an excellent authority,— "in which he hath not omitted any case of difficulty or importance determined when he was on the bench; without expressing his own opinion, when different from that of the plurality of the Lords, out of modesty and deference to their judgment."* A journal of the decisions of the court had been kept from its first institution. But Lord Stair was the first that published such decisions. Those that bear the name of Lord Durie, though they embrace a period of twenty-one years previous to 1642, remained in manuscript till 1690, when they were given to the world.

His *Institutions* and *Decisions* both belong to the department of law, but he was the author of a book of a totally different description, which appeared at Leyden in 1686: I allude to his *Physiologia Nova Experimentalis*. This work, which is dedicated to the Royal Society of London, is written, as the

* Forbes's *Journal*.

title indicates, in Latin ; and while it throws off many of the prejudices and absurdities then common both in philosophy and in science, does not possess that degree of originality at which he aimed, and which he flattered himself he had attained. He had devoted his time and talents too exclusively to the study of law, to rise to eminence, particularly in advanced years, in such important pursuits as those which the physiology embraces.

He seems at this time also to have been engaged in studies more nearly connected with his public and professional duties both as a statesman and lawyer. A work, in the composition of which he was then employed, was meant to shew that both king and subject have their titles and rights by law, and that an equal balance of prerogative and liberty was necessary for the happiness of a commonwealth.* Such principles are now universally recognised and acted upon : they are regarded as elementary and fundamental truths in political science ; and it is allowed, that, without their operation, no freedom, prosperity, or happiness, can be enjoyed. But at the time of which we are speaking, and previously to it, they were not recognised in theory, and totally overlooked in practice : nor had the divine right of kings and passive obedience on the part of subjects been altogether exploded. Light had indeed begun to glimmer ; but it had not been generally diffused, nor was darkness entirely dispelled till the Revolution. “ I have fully expressed,” to use his own words, “ my judgment on the important subjects in question in a treatise, which, when published, I hope will not be unacceptable to so gracious and moderate a prince, (William III.) as we now have, nor to the people.”† But this work was never published ; a circumstance which, owing to the talents and enlightened views of the author, we have reason to regret.

Stair, though engaged in literary or scientific studies in a foreign land, was not insensible to the important concerns of his native country. He had gained the friendship and confi-

* *Apology.* † *Ib.*

dence of the Prince of Orange ; and had an important share in those representations and negotiations which terminated, in 1688, in the expedition of that prince to this country, and in the glorious Revolution consequent upon it. When Orange was about to embark for Britain, Stair requested his royal highness to state explicitly the true design of his going thither. The prince at once answered, that it was not personal aggrandizement, but “ the glory of God and the security of the Protestant religion, then in imminent danger.” The following reply made by the venerable patriot is characteristic of the noble feelings by which he seems ever to have been animated. Pulling off his wig and exhibiting his bald head, he exclaimed, “ though I be now in the seventieth year of my age, I am willing to venture *that*, (pointing to his head,) my own and my children’s fortune, in such an undertaking :” an answer which gave the prince much delight, and afforded him, as he declared, great encouragement in his design. Stair accordingly accompanied the prince in his interesting and successful expedition. The latter manifested in every way the utmost respect for his venerable attendant ; and after he had been seated on the throne, he relied on him chiefly for advice and direction ; he appointed him to his former station of Lord President of the Court of Session, on 1st November 1689 ; and, on 1st May of the following year, he ennobled him by the title of Lord Viscount Stair.*

Lord Stair had meanwhile come to Scotland ; and by his prudent management, secured a majority in the convention of estates in favour of William, and of the establishment of presbytery as the national religion.† Sir John Dalrymple, his eldest son, with the Duke of Argyle, and Sir James Montgomery, were sent as a deputation to present the crown, and to administer the oath to the king and queen.

The great influence which Stair now possessed, and the honours with which he had recently been invested, could not fail to excite envy, particularly as the Episcopal party and the ad-

* *Apology*, and *Forbes’s Journal*.

† Burnet’s *Own Times*, iii. 26.

herents of the abdicated king were both numerous and active. It must be confessed also, as previously stated, that he did not enjoy the cordial confidence of some of the Presbyterians, owing to his being supposed to have abetted the infamous administration of Lauderdale, and to his son, already mentioned, having accepted the office of king's advocate from James VII. Not only were anonymous pamphlets published against him, in answer to one of which, his admirable *Apology*, to which we have so often referred, was produced; but attempts were meant to be made in parliament, by the opposition, to overturn the late nomination by William, of the Judges in the Court of Session, with the view of annulling the appointment of Stair as president. These attempts were not founded on sound principle or on precedent. The nomination of the judges was disapproved of, because it had been made by the king, and not submitted to parliament, as had been the case at the Restoration. But the circumstances of the two periods were quite different. An ordinary judge, on his appointment by the king, required by law to be tried by the court before his induction. But at the Restoration, an entirely new set of judges were appointed; and as no court previously to their election existed, and as they could not therefore undergo any trials, the nomination made by the king was submitted to parliament. At the Revolution, on the contrary, William continued or reponed such a number of the former lords as were sufficient to examine those nominated for the first time; and did not, under these circumstances, think it consistent with precedent or the royal prerogative to consult parliament on the subject. At the Restoration, in short, the Court of Session, having previously existed under the authority of a usurper, was regarded as extinct, and required to be revived. At the more glorious period which called William of Orange to the throne of these realms, that judicatory was not supposed to stop, but only such changes were made in the list of its judges as to get the bench occupied by men whose sentiments were congenial to the times.*

* *Apology*, where a very full account of this matter is given.

It was also objected to the nomination of Lord Stair, that it had been made by the king, and not by the Lords of Session. This charge shows nothing but the ignorance and hatred of those who made it. It was the incontrovertible law of the land, that "it is an inherent privilege of the crown, and an undoubted part of the royal prerogative of the kings of this kingdom, to have the sole choice and appointment of the officers of state and privy councillors, and the nomination of the Lords of Session."* And as a proof that the last clause includes the president of the court, that judge has uniformly been appointed by royal authority from the date of the act in question.† It may seem unnecessary to refute such unfounded attacks, since there is nothing too absurd for envy, conjoined with political and ecclesiastical rancour, to invent.

As this question, which it was intended to bring into parliament, was meant by the opposition, and looked upon by others, as a public affront on the first and most important action of the new government, it was resolved not to allow it to be agitated in that assembly; and when the Duke of Hamilton, the royal commissioner, perceived the party to be both active and strong, he thought it his duty to have recourse to a dissolution. But even this step was not sufficient to put a stop to the evil. Lord Stair had meanwhile been created a peer of the realm,—a circumstance which, it was alleged, ought to have incapacitated him from occupying the honourable station to which he had been raised. This objection was equally frivolous and inconsistent with precedent. Many judges, not only presidents of the court but ordinary Lords of Session, had, while they held these offices, been elevated to the peerage. And besides, as Lord Stair observes, "it is an express straitening of the king's power, if he may not nobilitate such as have been constant and faithful servants to the crown, which was practised frequently by his majesty's predecessors ever since the institution of the College of Justice."‡ The truth,

* *Acts of Scots Parl.* 1661.

† *Apology.*

‡ *The Information of the Viscount of Stair*, addressed to the Duke of Hamilton, the royal commissioner, and to the states of parliament. This

in fine, seems to be, as he himself declares, that the contemplated acts on this subject, which were meant to have a retrospective operation, and thus to deprive him of his office, “were framed by a committee wherein several members were known to owe him a personal pique, and prospect to affront him.”*

But violence seldom abates, even when it is shown, as in the present case, to be founded in injustice. The new parliament, which met in 1690, resumed the subject, and seem to have displayed no diminution of rancour. But the proceeding was at once and for ever stopt by the prompt and decided interference made by Lord Melvil, the new royal commissioner. “I desire,” says he, in concluding a short address to the house on the subject, “that no member of this loyal parliament may offer to call in question what is his majesty’s just and uncontroverted prerogative, or that may touch his honour, or reflect on the character of that judicatory of the session.”†

Lord Stair, being thus settled as president of the session, continued to discharge the duties of that high office till his death. From the unsettled nature of the times, and the violence of the Tory party, animadversions were sometimes made on the procedure of the court over which he presided. But nothing was ever substantiated against it; and the integrity and fidelity which Stair had displayed at a time when these virtues were rarer and less valued, unquestionably characterised him as a judge till the end of his days. He was now advanced in years, having reached the age of seventy at the time when he embarked with the Prince of Orange in his expedition to England. And though he had suffered a heavy bereavement in the death of his wife in 1692, he was not exposed to much domestic distress, but lived to see his family settled in life, and rising to places of honour and distinction. And, under these circumstances, he breathed his last, on the 25th of

curious and rare document contains a masterly answer to the malicious objections made against his appointment as president, and his continuance in that office.

* *Ib.*

† *Acts Scot. Parl.* 1690.

November 1695, in the seventy-seventh year of his age. He was buried in the High Church of Edinburgh.

To the works already mentioned as published by him, we have to add one, entitled, *A Vindication of the Divine Perfections, illustrating the glory of God in them by reason and revelation, methodically digested into several meditations, by a Person of Quality*,—a volume which, if possible, does greater honour to his memory than any of his other productions. This work displays on the part of its author great piety, sound theological views, and a spirit long exercised in holy meditations. It appeared in 1695, the year of his death, under the superintendence of Dr. William Bates and Mr. John Howe, two distinguished dissenting clergymen, to whom he seems to have presented his manuscript, and who, on giving it to the world, contributed a preface to it. “We have here,” they say, “an imitable and instructive example to great men, the dignity of whose stations in the world too commonly seems to plead an exemption from a more sedulous intention and application of mind to the affairs of religion that have reference to another world. This performance of the noble author shows it to be a thing not impracticable, as it is most praise-worthy, amidst the greatest secular employments, to find vacancy and a disposition of spirit to look with a very inquisitive eye into the deep things of God: which (if it were the author’s pleasure to be known,) would let it be seen the statesman and the divine are not inconsistencies to a great and comprehensive mind.”

Of his character little need be said in addition to what has been already advanced. His natural talents were of a very superior order, and were assiduously improved both by study and reflection. He was laborious, indefatigable, and methodical in the performance of his multifarious and important duties, and in general study. As a statesman, his views, liberal and enlightened, were superior to the age in which he lived. As a judge his name is unsullied. He could not, consistently with his judicial dignity, take a very open or active part regarding the arbitrary measures resorted to by Charles II.

against the presbyterians. He was therefore thought to have abetted these proceedings; but the facts which have been detailed in the course of our narrative, and his general character, afford ample proof of the contrary. He was a man of great moderation; and while it is likely that he disapproved of the conduct of some of the most rigid presbyterians, he disapproved still more of the cruel and disgraceful treatment to which they were subjected. As a proof of his integrity and soundness of principle, he refused, as we have seen, Cromwell's tender, and twice withdrew from his office as a judge, rather than compromise his views, or be a party to proceedings which his conscience condemned. His moral sentiments and conduct were exemplary. He was fond of domestic life, and was an ornament to it. "He had a great spirit and equal temper in the harshest passages of his life; by the constant bent of his thoughts to what was serious or profitable, he knew how to divert them from every uneasy impression of sorrow. He was apt to forget, at least not to resent injuries done to him, when it was in his power to requite them."* Such sentiments and conduct seem the natural result of that deep sense of religion, by which his whole character was pervaded; as to which we may state, in addition to what has been already said, that "he prayed always, and read a chapter of the Bible to his family before they sat down to dinner, and performed the like divine service after supper; which he would not interrupt upon any consideration of business, how important soever."†

Of Lord Stair's family, we have left ourselves scarcely room to speak. His wife, whom he survived about three years, has been represented as a high-minded woman, of great shrewdness and energy of character, and knowledge of life.‡ Their family

* Forbes's *Journal*.

† *Ib.*

‡ Her ladyship was the author of one of the best puns extant. Graham of Claverhouse, (commonly pronounced Clavers,) was appointed sheriff of Wigtonshire in 1682. On one occasion, when this violent persecutor had been inveighing in her presence against our illustrious reformer, she said, "Why are you so severe on the character of John Knox? You are both reformers: he gained his point by *clavers*; you attempt to gain yours by *knocks*!"

amounted to nine ; five sons and four daughters. Sir John, their eldest son, who succeeded his father as Viscount Stair, studied for the bar, was king's advocate in 1687, Lord Justice-Clerk the year following, again king's advocate in 1690, afterwards Secretary of State, and created Earl of Stair in 1703. He was a great promoter of the union, and a most distinguished parliamentary orator and statesman. He died of apoplexy on the 8th of January 1707, and was succeeded by his eldest son, the illustrious Marshall Stair. The public character of the first Earl of Stair has been differently represented, but on this subject we cannot at present enter.

Sir James Dalrymple, Baronet, of Borthwick, second son of Viscount Stair, was one of the principal clerks of Session, and author of an able and learned work, entitled, *Collections concerning the Scottish History preceding the death of David I. in 1153*, published in 1705 in 8vo. ; also a *Vindication of the Ecclesiastical part of his Historical Collections, in answer to a late Pamphlet, entitled The Life of Mr. John Sage*. He was grandfather to Sir John Dalrymple of Cranston, Baronet, author of *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, from the dissolution of the last Parliament of Charles II., until the sea battle off La Hogue*, in two volumes 4to.

Sir Hew Dalrymple, Baronet, of North Berwick, succeeded his father as President of the Court of Session. He was one of the first characters of his day, for talents, honour and virtue. *Decisions of the Court of Session from 1698 to 1712*, compiled by him, were published in 1758. Sir Hew died in 1737, at the venerable age of 85.

Dr. Thomas Dalrymple, the fourth son, was physician in ordinary to Queen Anne.

Sir David Dalrymple, Baronet, of Hailes, the only remaining son, was Lord Advocate of Scotland from 1709 to 1720. At this latter date, he was appointed to the office of auditor of Exchequer, but died the year following. Lord Hailes, the celebrated author of *The Annals of Scotland*, and other learned works, and Alexander Dalrymple, hydrographer to the Board of Admiralty, and a distinguished author, were his grandsons.

Of the daughters of Viscount Stair, Janet, the eldest, was married to David Dunbar, younger of Baldoon, but survived her marriage only four weeks and a few days. Her early death at such an interesting period, seems to have given rise to much superstitious credulity, heightened or generated by personal malignity, or by the violence of party-spirit which then predominated. The same feelings, in which this credulity originated, have perpetuated, if not increased it, till the present day. The tradition, however, has assumed two different shapes, the one being quite the reverse of the other. To the gossiping and illiberal editor of Law's *Memorials*, it has afforded occasion to a most coarse and wanton attack on the illustrious family to whom the young lady belonged; while it suggested to Sir Walter Scott, however absurdly, the idea of *The Bride of Lammermoor*. The gossip referred to, while it is of a most conflicting and incredible description, seems to me to be altogether unfounded in truth. The Rev. Andrew Symson, minister of Kirkinner, the parish in which Baldoon is situated, and where the young bride with her husband had arrived a fortnight after their marriage,* in his *Elegy on the unexpected Death of the Vertuous Lady, Mrs. Janet Dalrymple, Lady Baldone, Younger*, affords no room for the tradition in question. From his silence on the subject, indeed, the very contrary is evident; and we regard him as the only competent authority that can be adduced.

* At this time, it is evident, from the tenor of Symson's poem, that she was in good health and sound mind; a circumstance quite at variance with either version of the tradition. According to the one, the bridegroom, in a state of insanity, endeavoured to murder the bride; according to the other, the bride, in a state of frenzy from which she never recovered, attempted with a knife to kill her husband. Violence, however, is never alluded to by Symson; on the contrary, he expressly states that she did "enjoy" the happiness of the marriage state for some "little time;" which could not have been the case, had murder been attempted by either party, or had madness seized either of them. This "little time," evidently continued at least till she was "brought home" to Baldoon; on which occasion, says Symson, "we did all rejoyce even for her sake." The story, in time, originated in superstitious ignorance, or in the rancour of personal or political enmity, and has since been illiberally perpetuated by episcopal and jacobite writers.

We did enjoy great mirth, but now, ah me !
 Our joyful song's turn'd to an elegie.
 A Vertuous lady, not long since a bride,
 Was to a hopeful plant by marriage ty'd,
 And brought home hither. We did all rejoyce
 Even for her sake. But presently our voice
 Was turn'd to mourning, for that little time
 That she'd enjoy ; she waned in her prime ;
 For Atropos, with her impartial knife,
 Soon cut her threed, and therewithall her life.
 And for the time, we may it well remember,
 It being in unfortunate September,
 Just at the equinox ; she was cut down
 In th' harvest, and this day she's to be sown,
 Where we must leave her till the resurrection ;
 'Tis then the saunts enjoy their full perfection.

With regard to the other daughters, Elizabeth was married to Allan, Lord Cathcart ; Sarah to Charles, Lord Crichton, afterwards Earl of Dumfries ; and Isobel to Sir David Cunningham of Milneraig. They had all children except the eldest, whose early death has just been mentioned.

CHAPTER XII.

LIVES OF ANDREW M'DOWALL, LORD BANKTON, AND
OF ANTHONY MACMILLAN.

AFTER the life of Lord Stair, an account of LORD BANKTON, also a distinguished lawyer, naturally requires to be given. The family from which Andrew M'Dowall, afterwards a senator of the college of justice under the title just mentioned, was descended, is one of the oldest, if not the very oldest, in Scotland, and was settled in Galloway at an earlier date than any records testify. The word M'Dowall is supposed, by the best judges, to be one of the most ancient surnames; persons bearing that name are said to have existed in Galloway 230 years before the christian era; and, at any rate, we find the M'Dowalls flourishing as a powerful clan at the very dawn of authentic history.* Three families, namely the M'Dowalls of Logan, Garthland, and Freugh, have in modern times aspired to the superiority or chieftainship, and at one period preferred their respective claims to that honour with great confidence.† The two latter houses may be regarded as no longer existing, at least they have now no property in Wigtonshire, though the respectable name of the representative of Garthland is still in the list of the freeholders of that county; while the family of Logan is as opulent and distinguished as at any former period of its history. Though this is not the place for entering on

* Nisbet's *Heraldry*, ii. 282, and 99.† *Ib.* i. 284, and ii. 109.

this genealogical question, it may be remarked, that in the humble opinion of the present writer, the honour of the chieftainship belongs undoubtedly to Logan. The M'Dowalls of Logan held their lands blench of the kings of Scotland; indeed, in a charter dated 27th January 1504, and granted by James IV. to Patrick M'Dowall, the representative of that house, it is expressly stated, that his predecessors had so held their estate "beyond the memory of man."* The families of Garthland and Freugh, on the contrary, held their lands of the Lords of Galloway. They thus owed feudal service to these petty princes; while Logan, holding of the crown, owed fealty only to his sovereign, and was probably a check on these turbulent barons. Nor is this all. It is evident from charters still existing, that Garthland, whose claims to the chieftainship have always been regarded as stronger than those of Freugh, held lands of Logan, a proof of the superiority of the latter family, and that the M'Dowalls of Garthland had not only no right to the honour to which they aspired, but were descendants or cadets of the house of Logan. The character of the armorial bearings of this latter house, a subject on which it is unnecessary here to enter, is regarded by Nisbet as affording a strong presumption in favour of this inference.† In these enlightened days, when the contracted principles of feudal times have disappeared, the determination of this question is of no moment; but Lord Bankton being sprung from so ancient a house, it did not seem improper to state what were the claims of his family to the dignity in question.

Andrew M'Dowall,‡ the subject of this brief sketch, was second son of Robert M'Dowall, younger of Logan, and

* *Ultra memoriam hominum.*

† Nisbet *ut supra.* Colonel Andrew M'Dowall, the present representative of Logan, politely favoured me with the perusal of some charters and other documents preserved in the archives of the family, from which, as well as from Nisbet, the statement in the text is taken.

‡ The surname is here given according to the modern orthography. The subject of this memoir spelt it M'Douall. He was also sometimes called M'Dougal, which was perhaps the original form of the word, and is still used by several families.

Sarah Shaw, daughter of Sir John Shaw, Bart. of Greenock, and was born about the year 1685. Having gone through the usual course of education under their roof, and subsequently at the college of Edinburgh, he became a member of the Scottish bar on the 21st of July 1708. The study of the law, from the time he thought of embracing it as a profession till the last period of his life, he seems to have pursued with the greatest assiduity. He early obtained reputation as a practitioner at the bar, and acquired the character of a sound and discriminating lawyer. His success was such, that though possessed of little or no patrimony, being a younger son, he purchased the estate of Bankton in East Lothian, (a property which had before belonged to the celebrated Colonel Gardiner, and which is now possessed by Colonel M'Dowall of Logan,) from which, when raised to the bench, he took his title. He was thrice married. His third wife was daughter to Sir Francis Grant, Lord Cullen. But none of his marriages were productive of children. His last union, however, brought him into connexion with persons of eminence in his profession; which has associated his name with those of Lord Cullen and of his son, Lord Prestongrange. It was owing to the hints and solicitations of the latter that he undertook the composition of that work, which has given his name a place among writers in the department of Scots law, next to that of the illustrious Stair. To the performance of this task he devoted many years, while at the same time his practice at the bar was very extensive. Though the undertaking was great, and he was now advanced in years, he hoped to be able to finish it before his death, and meant that it should be a posthumous publication. But his brother-in-law, William Grant, lord advocate for Scotland, and afterwards a judge under the title of Lord Prestongrange, who had at first induced him to undertake the work, urged him to publish it during his life. To this advice he yielded, and the first volume appeared anonymously in 1751. "An ambition," says Mr. M'Dowall in his preface, "to be seen in print when the press is so much crowded, did not influence me, and therefore the author's name is

concealed, which I was likewise induced to do because I still practise at the bar; and, indeed, the original intention was, that the work should not be published in my life-time." But his name, which could not be concealed, he thought proper to affix to the second volume, which appeared in 1752. The third was published in the subsequent year. The work is entitled, *An Institute of the Laws of Scotland in Civil Rights, with Observations upon the agreement or diversity between them and the Laws of England, in Four Books, after the general method of the Viscount of Stair's Institutes*. It is assuredly a high honour paid to Lord Stair's work, that at the end of seventy years a lawyer so sound and learned as Mr. M'Dowall, should have followed the general plan and arrangement of his celebrated performance. Mr. M'Dowall's book is in many respects different from that of his illustrious model, owing chiefly to the altered circumstances of the law at the periods at which the publications respectively appeared. A comparison of the laws of England and Scotland as to their conformity with each other, not necessary in Lord Stair's time, is very properly treated of at great length in Mr. M'Dowall's *Institutes*. The Scots law had also, meanwhile, undergone much alteration or modification, such as the converting of ward-holdings into blench or feu, and the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions, by which feudal rights and privileges were deeply affected. Mr. M'Dowall, besides, embraces several subjects not alluded to by Stair, and is more extensive and minute on others. His book also contains various discussions only collaterally connected with his main design, such as notes on the introduction of the feudal law into this country, and on the authority of the *Regiam Majestatem*. Mr. M'Dowall's *Institutes*, in short, though they do not display the profound and philosophic intellect and that ingenious reference to abstract principles for which Lord Stair's work is so remarkable, are uniformly referred to as authority in Scots law, and are quoted as such both by the judges of the Court of Session, and by the Lord Chancellor in the House of Peers.

A person capable of writing such a book as that which we

have been discussing, should, as a matter of justice to the judicial character of our supreme court, have been raised to the bench, previous to the time at which our narrative has arrived. But on the appearance of the *Institutes*, Mr. M'Dowall could no longer be overlooked. Accordingly, on the death of Lord Murkle, brother to the Earl of Caithness, he was nominated his successor, on the 5th of July 1755, under the title of Lord Bankton.* He had at this date been forty-seven years at the bar, and was far advanced in age. But he survived his preferment upwards of five years; during which period he established for himself the highest character as a judge; and he died at Bankton on the 22d of October 1760, in the seventy-fifth or seventy-sixth year of his age. On the Sabbath succeeding his death, the Rev. William Carlyle, minister of Prestonpans, the parish in which Bankton is situated, delivered a sermon in reference to that event; with a quotation from which, illustrative of his character, I shall conclude this brief memoir.

“ It is well known with what assiduity and diligence he pursued the study of the law, and what great progress he made in it. Not only the present generation, but ages to come shall reap the benefit of his learned labours; by which he did honour to his country, and deservedly raised himself to the dignity of a judge of the supreme court of judicature in this part of the united kingdom.

“ But the most valuable parts of his character, (as indeed they are of every man's that is possessed of them,) were his undissembled piety and inviolable honour.

“ Having the principles of religion earnestly instilled into his mind, he maintained them unto the last with a steadfast and unshaken constancy. He not only kept up a daily intercourse with God, but in these degenerate days, thought it material to show the world his sincere regard to the christian institution by a regular and devout attendance on the public ordinances of religion. And having in the whole course of his life, manifested his unfeigned faith and unreluctant submission

* Hailes' *Catal.* 17.

to the will of heaven, he bore his last painful illness with an uncommon degree of christian patience and fortitude of mind.

“ He had the happiness always to maintain the character of untainted honesty and uprightness in all his actions ; and particularly, when he sat as judge either in the civil or ecclesiastical courts, nothing could bias his judgment ; no partial regards whatsoever, no desire of his dearest and most valued friends, could turn his steps out of the way that he looked to as the way of truth and equity. How carefully did he observe the directions of the wise man, to which every man, and especially every judge ought to hearken. Proverbs iv. 25, 26, 27. *Let thine eyes look right on, and let thy eyelids look straight before thee. Ponder the path of thy feet, and let all thy ways be established. Turn not to the right hand or to the left ; remove thy foot from evil.*

“ By his death, much to be lamented, though in a mature old age, the public hath lost an useful member of society, his neighbours a sincere and faithful friend, the poor a skilful counsellor and constant patron, his family and allies a kind and affectionate relation, and all have lost the benefit of his exemplary conversation ; yet what is loss to us is gain to him ; *for the good and faithful servant enters into the joy of the Lord.*”*

ANTHONY M‘MILLAN or MACMILLAN, author of several works on law, next claims our attention, as not unconnected in point of subject, nor in point of time, with the distinguished lawyers whose lives we have been considering. He was born at Corlea, parish of Dalry, Stewartry of Kirkeudbright, on the 9th of January 1759. His father was James M‘Millan, Esq. of Dalshangan, in the neighbouring parish of Carsphairn, and his mother, Elizabeth M‘Harg, of a respectable family in Ayrshire. His forefathers had for upwards of two centuries been settled in the Glenkens, the district of country in which he was born ; and

* *Scots Magazine* for October 1760.

some of them had had the honour of suffering for conscience-sake in the reign of Charles II. and his successor. Anthony M^cMillan had the advantage of receiving his scholastic education at Dalry, under the care of Mr. John Campbell, afterwards minister of Carsphairn. Being early destined for the profession of the law, he first went into the office of a writer or attorney at Kirkcudbright, whence he afterwards removed to the chambers of a writer to the signet in Edinburgh. It was soon after this time, namely in 1784, that his first publication was given to the world, entitled, *Forms of writing used in Scotland in the most common cases, with the principles of the law connected therewith*. In 1786, a *Supplement* to it appeared, and in the same year a second edition, greatly amended and enlarged. In 1787, he published a *System of Conveyancing of Land and Securities thereon, and of Heritable Rights*. A second edition of this work issued from the press in 1803; previous to which time, he had printed a *Supplement* to it on *Personal Rights*. These works are very unpretending, but of considerable merit, and show their author to have been able for higher efforts. The truth is, he once contemplated composing Institutes of the Law of Scotland; a task for which, as I have been informed by an adequate legal authority, he was not unqualified.

He had, meanwhile, removed to the country, having been appointed in 1787, or about that time, surveyor of taxes for Wigtonshire and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. He held this situation till 1792, having been succeeded in the latter county by a younger brother, who still respectably holds that office. From this date, unfortunately for himself, he followed no employment, but lived in the Glenskens, among his relations, but chiefly at Knoeknalling, the residence of his sister, contented with a small annuity. We have often known persons of good talents, who might have risen to respectability or eminence in their various professions, sink into inglorious indolence, lost to the world, and unjust to themselves, owing to their possessing too good a home, or a trifling competence. This unambitious disposition ought carefully to be avoided, as inevitably bringing infelicity and degradation along with it. And nothing should be more assiduously

cultivated than the very contrary feeling,—a desire to improve our condition in life, and to avail ourselves of all the advantages of which our circumstances are susceptible. Had Mr. Macmillan, whose inactivity and indolence suggested these observations, exerted himself in the line of his profession, and done justice to his education and talents, he could not but have risen to distinction, and have led an honourable and useful life. But unhappily for himself and his friends, he adopted a different course, and gradually acquired those habits which it seldom fails to superinduce. He was accidentally drowned while attempting to cross the Ken, the stream that flows through the romantic district to which he belonged. This event took place, so far as I can at present ascertain, in 1817, in the 58th year of his age.

Mr. Macmillan did not altogether neglect his studies, notwithstanding the unhappy course of life which he followed. In 1813, he published a most useful and judicious volume, entitled, *Forms of proceedings before the Justice of Peace Court in Scotland*. He also commenced a poetical life of Sir William Wallace, part of which was printed; but it is understood that he did not finish the work. He cultivated polite literature. Of poetry he was a great admirer, though his own verses are not distinguished by much merit. Among the numerous MSS. which he left behind him, there are some specimens of dramatic composition. His reading was very extensive and varied. He was a great talker; but his conversation was literary and instructive. His manners and speech were mild; his company agreeable; his affections warm and benevolent. Irresolution was his greatest failing.

As to his personal appearance, he was about five feet seven inches in height, of slender make, with a nose slightly bent up, large blue eyes, and auburn hair.

The life and death of Anthony Macmillan inculcate a salutary lesson, and confirm the remark, that nothing will supply the want of prudence; and that negligence and irregularity, long continued, will make knowledge and genius useless or contemptible.

CHAPTER XIII.

LIVES OF ROBERT MAXWELL OF ARKLAND, AND THE
REV. SAMUEL SMITH.

MR. MAXWELL, one of the most skilful practical farmers, and eminent writers on agriculture, that this country has produced, was the representative of a family which had originally sprung, but at what date I have not learned, from the Maxwells of Carlaverock, and which had been settled in Arkland so early at least as the year 1600. His father, James Maxwell of Arkland, who was married in 1694 to Margaret Neilson, daughter of Robert Neilson of Barnecaillie,* had a family of seven children, of whom Robert, the subject of this sketch, was the eldest. Robert's eldest sister, Elizabeth, was married to John Maxwell of Breckonside and Terraughtie, and was accordingly great-grandmother to John H. Maxwell Esq., presently of Munshes.

The several representatives of the family of Arkland, though not opulent, seem not to have been bred to any profession, but resided on their estate as independent country gentlemen. Nor do I know that Mr. Robert Maxwell was meant to form an

* Barnecaillie and Arkland are both in the parish of Kirkpatrick-Durham. The Neilsons of Barnecaillie, descended of the ancient house of Craigeaffie, county of Wigton, were proprietors of Barnecaillie so early as the year 1537. This family terminated in a female, Mary, heiress of Barnecaillie, married to Robert Glendonwyn of Parton, and mother to the late William Glendonwyn of Parton.

exception. But after having received an education becoming his rank, we find him, at an early period of life, engaged in the cultivation of the soil as a profession. About the year 1723, when under thirty years of age, he took the lease of a farm on the estate of Cliftonhall, lying within eight miles of Edinburgh, containing about 130 acres, all arable, the yearly rent of which, *paid in money*, was L.50. The lease was to extend to four nineteen years : a period sufficient to repay him for those improvements and experiments which he contemplated. In what way his taste for agriculture was first excited, it is now impossible to ascertain. It could hardly have been by the example of any landholder or farmer in his native county, as in that district the art was in the rudest state.* Throughout Scotland, indeed, there were at that time no large farms, no money rents, no enclosures, no idea of draining or fallowing, or proper rotation of crops : what, in fine, is now regarded as elementary principles in agriculture, was then unknown ; so wretched indeed was the system of husbandry, that lands were cultivated if they produced two seeds ; four seeds were reckoned a noble return.

Under such circumstances did Mr. Maxwell enter on his farm at Cliftonhall. Before he formed this engagement, his agricultural views, however he may have acquired them, must have been comparatively enlightened ; and he was perhaps the first person that had taken a lease in this country of any great duration, or that afforded an eminent example of skilful practical farming. But better times soon appeared. Not only had private enterprise and zeal begun to accomplish much ; but a public agricultural society, regarded as the first in the united kingdom, was established in Edinburgh in the year 1723, entitled *The Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture in Scotland*. This association, to which Mr. Maxwell belonged, and which could boast of the highest names in this country in the list of its members, lasted for about twenty years ; at the end of which time it declined, owing to the death

of nearly all its founders ; but another was instituted under the name of *The Edinburgh Society for Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, Manufactures and Agriculture* ; of which also Mr. Maxwell was a member. The institution of these societies, particularly the former, constitutes an era in this country in the history of the science to which they belong. The members, or others, submitted to the society queries or memorials on some agricultural point, to which that body drew up a solution or answer ; while the members themselves, on their several estates or farms, exerted themselves to set the example of the most approved system of husbandry.

Of *The Society of Improvers*, Mr. Maxwell was undoubtedly the most skilful and active member. All the memorials and queries, directed to that body, seem either to have been answered solely by himself, under the sanction of the society, or submitted to his opinion and direction. On all occasions the society appear to have reposed the utmost confidence in his judgment. “ We have heard him,” to quote from their own minutes, “ speak on most of the different parts of husbandry. He has wrote not a little that has been laid before us ; and he merits to have it said of him, that his knowledge of soil, and of the different methods of improving it, is extensive, and that his sentiments are just. Was the way of taking his advice in writ more in practice, we are fully satisfied that it would prove highly advantageous to gentlemen if they followed it ; and the lower sort would copy.” In 1743, twenty years after the institution of the society, and when it was rapidly on the wane, the result of their labours were laid before the public under the title of *Select Transactions of the Honourable the Society of Improvers of Agriculture in Scotland, directing the husbandry of the different soils for the most profitable purposes, and containing other directions, receipts, and descriptions, together with an account of the Society's endeavours to promote our manufactures. Prepared for the press by ROBERT MAXWELL OF ARKLAND, a member of the Society, and revised by the preses and a committee appointed for that end.* Of this work, which extends to 457 octavo pages, nearly one half was written

officially by Mr. Maxwell himself as a member of the society ; and for the trouble he took in compiling it, that body returned him their cordial and unanimous thanks. This volume contains many original views. The efficacy and mode of burning clay or subsoil, recently brought to perfection by Alexander Craig, Esq. late of Galloway, now residing in Edinburgh ;* the mode of cutting seed-potatoes, and of planting them ; the different kinds of cultivation suitable to various soils ; the rotation of crops ; the necessity and nature of fallow ; green-crop ; draining ; the enclosing of land ; the husbandry of herbage, as he terms it, such as turnips, carrots, cabbages, and the various grasses,—not to speak of the multifarious articles relative to the fisheries and manufactures, and other subjects,—were treated of, many of them for the first time in Scotland, in that meritorious and useful work.

The views developed by him in this volume were the result both of extensive reading, and of his own experience at Cliftonhall. He was indeed a most liberal and enlightened improver. “When I commenced farmer,” says he, “I did not only consider what crops, or in what shape the ground I possessed would bring most money into my pocket in shortest time, but I also employed my thoughts upon the consideration of the better or worse state my ground would be improved or reduced into, by these crops.” He threw off the prejudices of the class of men to whom he belonged ; instead of following the beaten track of those who had gone before him, his eyes were open to the manifest defects of their system of husbandry, and he endeavoured to set the example of better things. Some of his views, undoubtedly, were fanciful ; and of his experiments some failed, such for example, as the cultivation of flax ; but his general husbandry was of a superior order ; and could not fail to exercise a most salutary influence, not only on his immediate neighbourhood, but on the whole country.

* *Letters on preparing clay ashes for manure*, written by Mr. Craig, and published in the *Dumfries Courier* in February 1815. These *Letters*, two in number, were also printed in a separate form.

The Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge in Scotland, established in 1709, having been empowered, by a charter got for the express purpose, to lay out a part of their funds in the purchase of land and in agricultural property, Mr. Maxwell addressed a memorial to that body, describing his system of farming, and offering to take under his care a certain number of young persons at the expense of the society, to be instructed in the science of husbandry. The body, to whom this proposal was made, thought proper to submit it to the *Society of Improvers*, the highest authority at that time, for their opinion; and this society having considered the subject, report that Mr. Maxwell's scheme of husbandry, as detailed in his memorial, is excellent, and calculated to promote the general good of the country, and warmly recommend it to the society to grant him such encouragement as may enable him to carry his public spirited proposals into effect. For "we believe," they say, "that such conduct on the part of the society would receive general approbation."

But Mr. Maxwell's application, and this recommendation of his plan, were unsuccessful. The society held out encouragement, but none was ultimately given; a circumstance of which Mr. Maxwell complains, and he blames them for incurring the expense of getting a second charter, of which they never availed themselves. "By some solemn and public deed," he observes, "they should shew that they have struggled for the promotion of the knowledge of agriculture, without neglecting the propagation of Christianity. Pure religion, universal benevolence, the love of husbandry, and of every public and social virtue, are inseparable."

But he had too exalted views of the dignity of the art which he cultivated, to be easily discouraged. He regarded agriculture "as comprehending more parts of philosophy than any other profession, art, or science in the world," and as the sole source of wealth, and national independence. He expected that a lectureship, or class, in our university might be established for it. He urged *The Society of Improvers* to use means to

accomplish this object. He hoped that government might be induced to do something in so important a matter, as "agriculture," he observes, "is the preservation of all mankind." But the energy of his character rose above all difficulties. For let it be told to his honour, that without the patronage of any public body, and "encouraged," as he affirms, "by individuals only," he gave public lectures on agriculture in Edinburgh in the year 1756; a time when the science was nearly unknown in this country. So far as I know, he enjoys the high distinction of being the first in the united kingdom that gave public prelections on this important subject. How many seasons, (if more than one,) he continued these lectures, we are not told: but they were of such merit that he was urged by several gentlemen who were his hearers, to publish them. With this request he did not think it proper to comply; but two of them, which were afterwards printed in his *Practical Husbandman*, display such enlarged views, and are written with such spirit, that there is room to regret that more of them were not given to the world.

About twenty years before the time of which we have been speaking, Mr. Maxwell, then an experienced, as well as scientific agriculturist, in addition to the management of his own farm, had embraced the profession of a land-valuator, and of superintending extensive improvements upon estates. In this capacity he appears to have been extensively consulted; and his employers consisted of persons of the highest rank and dignity both in England and Scotland. Field Marshal Lord Stair was one of his greatest patrons; and it is well known that his lordship's enlightened improvements and experiments in farming were done either at his instigation or with his approval. Lord Stair, indeed, was so attached to him, that Mr. Maxwell hinted in 1757, that if that patriotic nobleman had been living, a public lectureship would have been instituted by him in behalf of his friend, for the promotion of agricultural science.

In 1757, he gave to the world *The Practical Husbandman; being a Collection of Miscellaneous Papers on Husbandry, &c.*

His former work having been out of print, the new publication contained, with many new articles, several of his papers that had first appeared in that treatise. Many of the articles consist of memorials relative to the cultivation of the different estates, respecting which he had been professionally consulted. It is in this work that two of his public lectures on agriculture are printed. Before this period, he had published a Letter, addressed to the clergy of the Church of Scotland, respecting the improvement of their glebes; in which he shewed "it was their duty, considering the importance of the matter, to preach the doctrine, which his letter inculcated, unto their hearers, in some week-day sermons annually, and also to enforce it by their practice."

But his views were superior to his age; and the science to which he so zealously dedicated himself, had not arrived at such a stage of advancement as to admit of his realizing an adequate return for his devoted cultivation of it. By his instructions and example in a most important art, he benefited his country, and he may be called a patriot in the best sense of the word; but no reciprocal benefit resulted to himself. In truth, he fell a victim to his own enthusiasm. As his father had a large family, consisting chiefly of daughters, his eldest son, the subject of this sketch, could not have enjoyed very ample pecuniary advantages when he took the lease of Cliftonhall; and it was not for more than twenty years after he had entered on his farm, (namely in 1745,) that he became proprietor of Arkland, as successor to his father. The money which he had meanwhile laid out in enclosing and improving his land, (for when he entered to it, it was quite open,) and in making agricultural experiments, must have been very considerable. The loss of his lint-mill by fire, had a tendency also to cripple his resources. The melancholy truth is, that this respectable and patriotic individual had the misfortune to experience embarrassment in his affairs, and to become insolvent. He was obliged to resign his lease, which, though high at first, might at length, owing to the improvements he had effected on it, have been the source of great opulence to him; and even his patrimo-

nial estate, which had been so long the property of his family, was brought to a judicial sale at the instance of his creditors.*

In what way he gained a livelihood after this date, we have no minute information. Nor have we been told whether his lectures met with encouragement. The superintendence and direction of improvements on estates, was an employment which he still continued to pursue, and which perhaps constituted the chief source of his support. And after a life spent in the assiduous and enlightened cultivation of a most important art, he died at Renfrew on the 17th day of May 1765, in the seventieth year of his age.

He had been married: his wife was Margaret Montgomery, daughter of Bailie Montgomery of Edinburgh; but whether she survived her husband we are not told, though it is probable he was a widower at the time of his death, as that event took place in the house of one of his daughters. His family consisted of six daughters, of whom Margaret, the eldest, was married to Mr. Hamilton of Monkland, Lillias to Mr. Wallace of Carzield, Barbara to James King, Esq. collector of cess for the county of Renfrew, (in whose house Mr. Maxwell died), Catherine to Mr. John Parlin, surgeon in Glasgow. The two other daughters died unmarried. His grandson, William Hamilton, Esq. British consul at Boulogne, is the lineal representative of the family.

Mr. Maxwell was not merely an eminent practical farmer: he had studied agriculture as a science, and was intimately acquainted with all the works, whether in ancient or modern times, that had been written on the subject. He was not a fanciful projector or speculator, but a sensible and discriminating improver. The enthusiasm of his character was kept under proper control by the soundness of his judgment. His style is plain and unaffected, more chaste and pure than was common at that time in Scotland. His character seems to have been very respectable: And altogether, whether we

* This sale took place on the 9th January, 1750; Arkland was bought by John Coltart of Arceming for £10,304 Scots. It now belongs to Mr. Skirving of Croyes.

view him as a writer on husbandry, or as an extensive improver, and practical farmer, he is entitled to be regarded as one of the greatest men of whom in this country agricultural science can boast.

The Reverend SAMUEL SMITH, (whose history, in point of subject, is naturally connected with that of Mr. Maxwell,) was son to Mr. John Smith, farmer in Craigmuaie, parish of Balmaclellan, and was born in that place in the year 1757. Like other young men in a similar rank in life, Mr. Smith engaged in teaching during the course of his academical studies, and till he obtained a settlement in the church. This object he soon attained; for he was ordained minister of Carsphairn, in his native presbytery, on the 28th of August 1783, when only twenty-six years of age. On the 17th of November in the same year, he was married to Janet, only daughter of Mr. James Carruthers, a respectable merchant in Dumfries; a step on which both parties had always cause to look back with happiness. He was translated to the parish of Borgue, in the same presbytery, on the 20th of September 1792: an appointment which he owed to the late David Blair of Borgue, Esq. in whose family he had been tutor. In both these livings, he was very acceptable to the people placed successively under his care. Not merely was he an able and interesting preacher, and performed his other official duties with great fidelity, but he associated familiarly with the various classes of his flock, who regarded him in the double light of a pastor and a friend. "He mingled freely in your social circles," says one who knew him well; "but amidst the festivity of your meetings, he did not lose sight of the respect due to his office, and to himself."*

* MS. sermon, preached on the Sabbath after Mr. Smith's funeral, by the Rev. Robert Gordon, minister of Girthon. Mr. Gordon was himself

We are not aware at what time he showed any partiality for the study of agriculture, or what circumstances turned his taste to that subject. Certain it is, however, as mentioned in the Life of Mr. Maxwell, that public attention had been assiduously directed to this pursuit from the beginning of the present century throughout all Scotland. Agricultural societies had, meanwhile, been established in every district of the kingdom; and every county could ere long boast of an agricultural survey or report. In the stewartry of Kirkeudbright, such a society was formed in the year 1809, owing chiefly to the exertions of the late William M. Herries of Spottes, and of the late William Douglas of Orchardton. Of this society, however, Mr. Smith was not a member: not at least for the first two years of its institution; nor, so far as I know, did he afterwards join it. But he had for many years taken a deep interest in agricultural improvements, and had had considerable experience as a practical farmer. The present parish of Borgue is formed by the union of three parishes; and, if I mistake not, the minister has a title to a glebe in each: so that Mr. Smith enjoyed some opportunity for exciting and cherishing a taste for agriculture. In 1809, he undertook to draw up a survey of Galloway, which appeared the year following, under the designation of a *General Survey of the Agriculture of Galloway, viz. the Stewartry of Kirkeudbright and Wigtonshire, with Observations on the Means of their Improvement*. This work, which was not a voluntary effort, but undertaken on the suggestion of others, particularly of the late enlightened Earl of Selkirk, was written, it is understood, very hurriedly, and is not characterised by that extent of agri-

a most respectable clergyman, and an elegant scholar. His parish felt for him a degree of esteem seldom equalled. Born of respectable parents in the parish of Terregles, he died unmarried in 1817, in the 49th year of his age. As he was minister of my native parish, I remember well his tall genteel figure, his love of learning, the mildness of his countenance and speech, the urbanity of his manners, and the goodness of his heart. I feel a melancholy satisfaction in paying this tribute, however humble, to his memory; for "he was one of the first friends that literature procured me, and I hope that at least my gratitude made me worthy of his notice."

cultural reading and that historical knowledge of the subject which other similar works have displayed. Yet it is highly creditable to the abilities of the author, and must always hold a respectable place among the class of works to which it belongs. It is written in a simple, chaste style, unambitious of ornament. It displays a minute knowledge of the actual state of the agriculture of the province of which it treats, and an intimate acquaintance, not only with the general principles on which the science depends, but with the exact nature of the improvements suitable to Galloway. The work contains also much important miscellaneous information, for which it will probably be more consulted in after times than for its merely agricultural disquisitions. It shows throughout an amiable spirit, and a benevolent heart; and, on the whole, we regard it as forming a most honourable memorial of its author.

Mr. Smith was not yet old; but he had lived to educate his family, and to see some of them settled in life. In the year 1815, his health began rapidly to decline; his complaints, which were of a pulmonary nature, gained ground during the ensuing winter; and he died on the 6th of March in the following year, in the thirty-third year of his ministry, and fifty-ninth of his age. He left behind him a widow, (who died while these sheets were passing through the press,) with six children, two sons and four daughters, of whom one daughter is since dead.

He was a man of tall, slender figure, with a gentle bend in his gait; of slow or deliberate speech, of acute observation, of independent thinking, extensive information, and liberal sentiments. On this subject, we cannot resist quoting the words of the Rev. Mr. Gordon:

“ He had received from nature an excellent understanding. His judgment was sound and acute. His memory was both quick and tenacious; qualities which seldom unite. By much reading and meditation he had improved his natural gifts. He had a quick, a lively, and distinct apprehension of every subject to which he directed his thoughts. His opinions were not received on the authority of others. From a well-grounded

confidence in the strength and vigour of his own mind, he had learned to trust to its resources ; and he did not decline the task of thinking for himself. There was a shrewdness in his discrimination of character, which was partly the gift of nature, and which was improved by frequent and intimate intercourse with real life. * * * A character free from failings is not the portion of any individual ; and no man made less pretension than he did to any immunity from those imperfections and failings from which no man is exempt. But of him I would remark, that I have seldom met with any character that had more virtues and fewer faults." As to his clerical office, Mr. Gordon characterises him "as indeed a workman that needed not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth."

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CHAPTER XIV.

LIVES OF THOMAS GORDON, JAMES HILL, SURGEON, AND
WILLIAM JAMESON, D.D.

OF THOMAS GORDON, we can, at this distance of time, give but a meagre account. The date of his birth is unknown; even the place of it has been disputed. In Chalmers' *Biographical Dictionary*, he is termed a native of Kirkeudbright; while the parishes of Balmaclellan and Kells have each claimed the honour of having given him birth. The latter of these parishes, however, is now regarded as possessing the justest claim. His father, the representative of an ancient family, descended from the Gordons of Kenmure, was proprietor of Gairloch, in that parish.

It has been asserted, that he obtained an academical education; but the university in which he studied has not been mentioned. He afterwards removed to London, where he at first supported himself as a teacher of languages, and afterwards as an author by profession. He first distinguished himself in the Bangorian controversy, by two pamphlets written in defence of Dr. Benjamin Hoadly. Of these treatises, I need not at present speak, as the substance of them was incorporated in subsequent publications of the same author, and as the controversy which gave birth to them has lost its interest.

The most important event of the life of Gordon was his connexion with Mr. Trenchard, author of several political pamphlets, and commissioner of the forfeited estates in Ireland.

“From a perfect stranger to him,” says Gordon, in his preface to *Cato's Letters*, “and without any other recommendation than a casual coffee-house acquaintance and his own good opinion, he took me into his favour and care, and into as high a degree of intimacy as ever was shown by one man to another. This was the more remarkable, and did me the greater honour, for he was naturally as shy in making friendships, as he was eminently constant to those which he had already made.”

The memories of Trenchard and Gordon are inseparably connected. If Mr. Gordon, as has been asserted, was first employed by Trenchard as an amanuensis, their connexion soon grew more intimate. Being men of congeniality of views, they became partners as authors, and their most celebrated works were produced by the joint efforts of both. Their first publication was entitled *The Independent Whig*,—a work which came out anonymously, and, with only two exceptions, in weekly numbers. It was begun on the 20th of January 1720, and was concluded in the same month of the subsequent year. After Trenchard's death, the papers of which it consisted were published by Gordon in a collected form, with several separate treatises, written by himself, which swelled it to two volumes, containing 623 duodecimo pages.

It is a fortunate circumstance that this work is known only by name; for it is disfigured by sentiments which are deserving of great reprobation. It was more immediately directed against the hierarchy of the church of England; but it was also meant, or at least has a direct tendency, to undermine the very foundation of a national religion, under any circumstances, and to bring the sacred profession, if not religion itself, into contempt. The sacerdotal office, according to this book, is not only not recommended in scripture, but is unnecessary and dangerous; ministers of the gospel have ever been the promoters of corruption and ignorance, and distinguished by a degree of arrogance, immorality, and a thirst after secular power, that have rendered them destructive of the public and private welfare of a nation. “One drop of priestcraft,” say they, “is enough to contaminate the ocean.”

Before the *Independent Whig* was concluded, a similar work was begun by the same authors, under the name of *Cato's Letters*. It was a weekly publication, like its predecessor, and was not terminated until the month of July 1723. The object of this work is nearly the same with that of the *Independent Whig*,—with this difference, that its theological and ecclesiastical discussions are much blended with political disquisitions. It was indeed directed particularly against the South Sea Scheme; the knavery and absurdity of which our authors had the merit of exposing, at a time when almost the whole nation were intoxicated with the golden dreams of wealth and independence, which it artfully cherished, and by which so many were ruined and betrayed.

Notwithstanding the insuperable objections we have stated to the most of the principles of these works, they are characterised, we must confess, by no mean portion of talents and learning. The authors seem always master of the subjects of which they treat; and their discussions are clear, close, and vigorous.

Like every person who, in any way, attempts to undermine the interests and welfare of society, Gordon and Trenchard laid claims to great purity of intention. According to their own statement, they formed the only two wise, patriotic and independent men of the age in which they lived. “As these letters,” says Gordon in his preface, already quoted, “were the work of no faction or cabal, nor calculated for any lucrative or ambitious ends, or to serve the purposes of any party whatsoever, but attacked falsehood and dishonesty in all shapes and parties, without temporizing with any, but doing justice to all, even to the weakest and most unfashionable, and maintaining the principles of liberty against the practices of most parties; so they were dropped without any sordid composition, and without any consideration, save that it was judged that the public, after all its terrible convulsions, was again become calm and safe.” How false these pretensions are, no man need be at a loss to determine. Gordon's own history, indeed, dis-

proves every word that we have quoted. Erroneous opinions often attach to the most worthy, and call forth our regret, but not our censure. But what apology can be offered for that man, whose principles are determined by his interests, and who at one time advocates a cause, which at another, because it has fallen into disgrace, he as strenuously exposes? This was the case with Gordon. In the reign of Queen Anne, he was employed by the Earl of Oxford; but no sooner had that statesman, and the party whom he headed, lost their influence, than Gordon prostituted his talents and his principles, by promoting, for hire, the interests of Sir Robert Walpole, and the measures of his administration. Nothing can be conceived more un candid than such conduct.

The works of which we have been speaking, are not the only ones to which Gordon owes his fame. He is now probably better known as the translator of Tacitus and Sallust, than in any other capacity. His other writings are nearly forgotten; while his translations are still enjoying that share of celebrity to which works of their kind are entitled. Before the time of Gordon, this country had produced two English versions of Tacitus: the first by Greenway and Sir Henry Savile, in the reign of Elizabeth; and the second about a century afterwards, by Dryden and others. The translation of Gordon appeared in 1728, in two volumes, folio. It was published by subscription; and, being patronised by Sir Robert Walpole, formed a very lucrative speculation. Though it is now in a great degree superseded by the elegant translation of Mr. Murphy, it is nevertheless a work of no inconsiderable degree of merit. Mr. Gordon probably understood his author better than any who have presented him to the world in an English dress; and the only objection that has been made to his work, even by Murphy himself, is, that he foolishly attempted to accommodate the English language to the elliptical and epigrammic style of the Roman historian. To this production he prefixed several discourses, comprehending a vast variety of discussions, political, critical, moral—and

he could not resist the temptation which such an opportunity afforded him, of again favouring the world with his notions respecting religion and ecclesiastical polity.

Through the friendship of Walpole, Gordon held the situation of first commissioner of the wine licences for several years previously to his death, which took place on the 28th of July 1750. He was twice married; his second wife was the widow of his friend Trenchard, by whom he was the father of several children. Two collections of his fugitive pieces were published after his death; the one termed *A Cordial for Low Spirits*; and the other *The Pillars of Priestcraft and Orthodoxy shaken*; as also in 1788, *Sermons on Practical Subjects, addressed to different characters*.

THE family from which MR. JAMES HILL was descended had long been settled in Roxburghshire, a small piece of ground called Hill's Land in the parish of Lillisleaf having for centuries belonged to them. Quintin Hill of Hill's Land was killed in the battle of Flodden in 1514. His property continued to belong to some branch of the family till after the subject of this sketch was settled in life; at which time, though he wished to have purchased it and to have settled it on his children, it went into the hand of strangers.

The Rev. James Hill was the first of the family connected with Galloway. He was ordained minister of Kirkpatrick-Durham in 1699, and maintained through a long life the highest character for piety and talents. His wife was Agnes, daughter of Bailie James Muirhead, merchant in Dumfries, by whom he had a family of thirteen children; one of whom was the distinguished individual whose life we now purpose to trace.

James Hill, who was born in 1703, was early destined for the medical profession; and with that view served an apprenticeship with a surgeon in Edinburgh. He afterwards entered the college of that city, a seminary which at that period could

scarcely boast of a medical or anatomical school. Before this time, young persons, intended for the medical profession, were under the necessity of repairing to some of the celebrated universities on the continent for instruction. The chair of anatomy in the college of Edinburgh was instituted in 1705; that of chemistry in 1713; of the institution and practice of medicine in 1724; of midwifery in 1726. Under this scanty supply of academical instruction, (to which we may add the brief course of chemistry and materia medica given in the Edinburgh apothecary hall,) did Mr. Hill prosecute his studies at the university of Edinburgh: and having obtained his diploma as a surgeon, he entered the navy in that capacity in 1730. In this service he continued two years; at the end of which time he settled in Dumfries, and commenced the practice of surgery in that town.

From this date, his time and attention continued to be devoted to the practice and study of the medical and surgical arts. He was distinguished by bold and original views; and while the sciences which he professed were undergoing improvement in every quarter of the world, his knowledge was not remaining stationary. From the copious manuscript notes that he left behind him, as well as from his published work, it appears, that he was intimately acquainted with the best works on surgery and medicine; and that in his own professional capacity, he ventured to depart from the usual mode of practice, and to think and decide for himself. Speaking of cancers, for example, he says, "There was no Infirmary in Edinburgh when I served my apprenticeship there, so that I never had an opportunity of seeing a cancerous breast extirpated, or any other capital operation in surgery performed, till I performed them myself. My first practice, therefore, was directed by the late Dr. Monro's performance on dead subjects, and his prelections on operations, and the best authors that were published at that time."

As to cancerous and scirrhus complaints, he had the honour of being the first surgeon in this country who laid aside the palliative method, and by his own practice, established the

superiority of excision to any other mode of cure. Dr. Monro, under whom he had studied at Edinburgh, Le Dran, Sharp, and other distinguished writers, recommended and followed the former method, and discouraged surgeons from attempting the latter. But the authority even of these men had little influence with a person of independent thinking like Mr. Hill. As the result of his observation and practice, he declares that, "in the case of cancers, I never observed the smallest benefit from hemlock, (which before his time had been the grand specific for this complaint). On the contrary, I have, in several instances, seen much mischief done by it:" * * * while, "in the course of thirty years' practice, I have extirpated from most parts of the body no less than eighty-eight genuine cancers, being all ulcerated except four; and I have the satisfaction of assuring the public that all the patients but two recovered of the operation."

There is another department of surgery, in which he effected great improvement. I refer to the operation of trepan in cases of disorders in the head from external violence. Other practitioners had published on this subject before him. But in the work which he afterwards submitted to the world, he gives the history of his own practice on this head, from which it appears that he was the first, or one of the first, that adopted this mode of cure. "Within these last fifteen years," says he, "so many circumstances, which I thought peculiar to myself, have been discovered and published, that I have frequently been almost determined to suppress these sheets." "Yet," he continues, "as I imagined there was still something new in what I have to propose, I at last resolved to give an account of such cases as occurred to me in practice, of the methods I employed, and the reasons which induced me to use these methods." "In truth," says he, "in some points my sentiments and practice differ considerably from some authors, for whom I have the highest esteem."

The work, from which these and the foregoing extracts are taken, appeared in 1772, in one volume 12mo., under the title of *Cases in Surgery, particularly of Cancers, and dis-*

orders of the head from external violence, with observations ; to which is added, an Account of the Sibbens. This treatise was most favourably received ; and from the minute details it gives of his own practice relative to the two distempers in question, it must have had a favourable effect on the state of science respecting them. His *Account of the Sibbens, or Yaws,* is characterised by original views. In addition to this work, Mr. Hill contributed various articles, in the line of his profession, to medical journals.

The deep interest he felt in the cases of his patients, is apparent from his published work. He was a man of nice discrimination and sound judgment ; and though he excelled in handling the knife, he never had recourse to this mode of cure, unless when circumstances fully warranted it. When he did avail himself of that instrument, his operations were equally bold and successful ; and many of his cures have, we understand, been referred to with praise by Dr. Monro and others in their public lectures. Nothing ever prevented him from visiting a patient when sent for : he has been known to incur personal risk, in stormy weather, or in the case of floods, in carrying his wishes in this respect into effect. His practice was not confined to Dumfries or its neighbourhood : he was regarded as the surgeon of more than one county ; and was not unfrequently consulted by persons residing at a great distance, even in the sister kingdom. A considerable number of young men, who afterwards attained to distinction as surgeons, such as the late Mr. Benjamin Bell of Edinburgh, had the advantage of serving their apprenticeship under him. In the instruction of such persons he seems to have exerted himself with uncommon zeal. He left behind him two manuscript volumes, entitled *Lectures to his apprentices,* embracing an elucidation of the most important subjects connected with his profession.

With Dr. Ebenezer Gilchrist, who was a native of Dumfries, and who had settled in that town as a physician about the time that the subject of this sketch commenced the practice of surgery there, Mr. Hill lived in terms of the greatest

friendship. Dr. Gilchrist, who is often referred to by him in his *Cases of Surgery*, and who placed the greatest confidence in the soundness of the professional views and experiments of his friend, was a physician of very superior character and attainments. He had studied successively at Edinburgh, London, and on the Continent, and obtained the degree of M. D. from Rheims; he was the author of various medical treatises; and, like his friend Mr. Hill, deserted the beaten road of medical practice, and made many discoveries in the art which he professed, particularly with regard to nervous fever and the efficacy of sea voyages in certain complaints. He died in 1774; and was succeeded by his son, the late Dr. John Gilchrist.

Mr. Hill did not long survive his friend. He was now, indeed, far advanced in years, and died on the 17th of October 1776, at the age of seventy-three.

As to his personal appearance, he was in stature above the middle size, his height being about five feet eleven inches. He continued till his death to prefer that fashion of dress that had prevailed in his youth. He wore a full wig; and used a large staff. He was a man of dignity both of appearance and manners. His character was in every department of life most respectable. With the exception of professional subjects, chemistry was his favourite study. He was fond of antiquities. But his acquirements were miscellaneous, as well as minute.

On the 15th of February 1733, a year after his settlement at Dumfries, he married Anne M'Cartney, daughter of John M'Cartney of Blaiket; by whom he at length became proprietor of that estate.* He kept it in his own possession.

* Blaiket, which lies in the parish of Urr, had been the property of the M'Cartneys from 1616, George, son to M'Cartney of Chapelearn, having purchased it in that year. Mrs. Hill's mother was Margaret, daughter of Sir Alexander Gordon of Earlston. The sufferings of the M'Cartneys of Blaiket during the reign of Charles II. occupy a prominent place in Wodrow's *History*. A younger son of the first M'Cartney of Blaiket, having emigrated to Ireland, was the progenitor of that celebrated nobleman, the late Earl of Macartney. *MSS. penes me. Barrow's Life of Lord Macartney.*

Farming he seems in consequence to have carefully studied ; and among his numerous manuscript papers, there are dissertations relative to almost every branch of agriculture. Mrs. Hill survived her husband ten years. Of eleven children, of whom their family consisted, eight predeceased him. Mr. John Hill, No. 26, Scotland Street, Edinburgh, his grandson, is the lineal representative of the family.*

DR. WILLIAM JAMESON was a native of the northern district of Ayrshire, and born in 1704. After the usual course of elementary education, he entered the university of Glasgow, in which he took the degree of A.M., and which, at a subsequent period, conferred on him the degree of doctor in divinity. In what way he first became known in Galloway, I have not learned, but by the unanimous choice of the people, he was, in 1731, ordained helper and successor to the Rev. Alexander Telfer, minister of Rerwick.† Being a man of liberal views, and extensive knowledge of life, he exerted himself to remove the narrow-mindedness and prejudices, for which his people were remarkable ; while, at the same time, he never neglected the more important objects for which he was stationed among them. Even in the hour of merriment and enjoyment, he lost no opportunity of communicating moral and religious instruction, and has often been known to terminate an easy and cheerful conversation, by some unexpected serious

* To Mr. John Hill, as also to Robert Corbet, Esq., Advocate, I am indebted for the greater part of the materials of which this memoir consists.

† The name of Mr. Telfer, who was the first minister of Rerwick after the Revolution, is known to the curious reader as the author of a credulous and superstitious pamphlet, entitled, *A True Relation of an Apparition, the expressions and actings of a Spirit which infested the house of Andrew Mackie of Ring-croft of Stocking, in the parish of Rerrick, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, in Scotland, 1695 ; by Mr. Alexander Telfair, minister of that Paroch, and attested by many other persons, who were also eye and ear-witnesses. Edinburgh, printed by George Mosman, 1695. 15 pages, small 4to.*

remark or inference, that left on the mind an indelible impression. If any instances of profaneness or irreligion occurred in his presence, he possessed a peculiar felicity in checking and exposing them; and "this he did," says Mr. Thomson, "in the midst of smiles and good wishes, that he often gained friends, but never thereby procured an enemy."* He entertained a very high opinion of the importance and respectability of his professional character; and yet he was distinguished by a singular facility in accommodating himself to every gradation of rank and of age. Even when at the very extremity of a life protracted beyond the usual span, the cheerfulness of his manners, and the instructions to which he made these subservient, were as conspicuous as ever.

————— Though old, he still retained
 His manly sense, and energy of mind;
 Virtuous and wise he was, but not severe;
 He still remember'd that he once was young;
 His easy presence check'd no decent joy.
 Him even the dissolute admired, for he
 A graceful freedom, when he pleas'd, put on,
 And, laughing, could instruct.

"As a minister," says Mr. Thomson, "he was highly respectable. His sermons were both rational and pathetic, exhibiting a deep tinge of that fervent and genuine piety which ran invariably through his life and conversation. In discharging the duty of parochial examination, he excelled most men. So studiously did he avoid putting any one to the blush, and in such a clear and satisfactory manner did he explain the Christian system, that several of his people followed him from one diet to another over the parish; and he himself has been heard to say, that he verily believed he did more good by his examinations in the winter season, than by all his preaching through the whole of the year."

His attachment to his flock, by whom he was beloved, no consideration could induce him to sacrifice. Accordingly,

* Letter from the late Rev. James Thomson to the present writer.

when the living of Kirkcudbright was offered him by the Earl of Selkirk, who characterised him as the most polite and accomplished clergyman in the south of Scotland, he did not for a moment hesitate to decline the preferment. The tie that binds pastor and people was, in his case, at the time of which we are speaking, enhanced by a residence among them of thirty years.

When Dr. Jameson was advanced in life, the late Rev. James Thomson was ordained his helper and successor. He died on the 4th of March 1790, at the venerable age of eighty-six, of which he had spent no fewer than fifty-nine as minister of Berwick. His wife, Miss Marion Cunninghame, a descendant of the family of Caprington, had predeceased him. They had had two children, daughters, of whom Margaret, the youngest, died unmarried, when upwards of twenty years of age: the other, Jane, was married, first, to one of the Newalls of Earlston, an ancient family in the parish of Kells, and, second, to William Donaldson of Kildow, a small estate in the parish of Kelton. By the former union, she had no children; by the latter, no fewer than eight, of whom some are still alive. Two years before his death, Dr. Jameson had retired from his official duties, and resided in the family of his only surviving daughter, Mrs. Donaldson, in whose house he breathed his last.

Dr. Jameson was distinguished by talents of no ordinary kind. His mind, naturally strong and vigorous, was cultivated and improved by study and meditation. With the classical writings of Greece and Rome, as well as with those of his own country, his acquaintance was considerable. But ethical and metaphysical science was his favourite study, and that in which he excelled. Of this his *Essay on Virtue and Harmony* affords no contemptible proof. It was published so early as 1749, a period when the science of which it treats was little cultivated in this country: and when few metaphysical works had issued from our northern press; and had its author held a place in any of our literary establishments, it would have gained him no inconsiderable degree of celebrity. For,

while it exhibits many undoubted marks of erudition, and of a strong masculine understanding, it is at the same time remarkable for the felicity with which it analyzes every complex feeling and emotion, and ascertains the source, the motive, and tendency of all our actions and sympathies. With regard to the great object which he had in view in this treatise, the author himself thus speaks. "We flatter ourselves," says he, "that we have brought our inquiry to the following conclusion :—That the complete idea of virtue is not to be obtained from human nature alone, or taken apart and independent, but from viewing it as an object co-relative with the universe ; and, from the mutual agreement and harmony, which the Supreme Author and Lawgiver appears to have designed should take place between them ; that, therefore, virtue is to be regarded and revered as a divine law, promulgated to man by his own nature, and by the nature of the universe."

His knowledge and attainments as a theologian were also respectable. "So thorough a master," says Mr. Thomson, "was he reckoned of the Deistical controversy,"—at that time carried on with much keenness and asperity,—"that his brethren always applied to him when any difficulty occurred to them on that subject ;" and he had composed a treatise on the evidences of Christianity, which, however, he did not think it advisable to publish.

CHAPTER XV.

LIVES OF THE REV. JOHN EWART, AND THE REV.
ANDREW DONNAN.

THE Ewarts are an ancient family in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, as traces of them exist there so early as the year 1500. For several generations they had been proprietors of Mullock, as also for a shorter time of Drummore. By marriage they were connected with the Browns of Carsluith, and other old families. The Rev. Andrew Ewart, minister of Kells, father of the venerable individual whose history we now purpose to give, was proprietor of Mullock and Drummore. He married Agnes, heiress of Grierson of Capenoch, by whom he had a family of two sons and four daughters; James, the oldest, (who married Miss Christie of Baberton); John, the subject of this memoir; Anne, married to Mr. Newall of Park; Agnes, the wife of the Rev. Peter Yorstoun of Closeburn; and Nicolas and Henrietta, who died unmarried. The Rev. Andrew Ewart was a widower when married to Miss Grierson, and had a daughter, afterwards married to Alexander Kennedy of Knockgray.

Mr. John Ewart was born at Kells Manse in the year 1717, and, after having received a suitable education at home, entered the college of Edinburgh. He studied for the church, and obtained from the crown the presentation to the parish of Troquire, near Dumfries, in 1738, when he was scarcely twenty-one years of age. In the work of the ministry he experienced great delight. He regularly visited the sick; he

took a deep interest in the state of the poor; and the three schools within the parish enjoyed the advantage of his unflinching superintendence and direction. To the various classes of his parishioners he was warmly attached. His income, however, was small; yet, when afterwards offered a more profitable parish, he declined it, and “preferred to remain permanent where he was happy.”

In the rebellion of 1745, the rebels having taken Carlisle, the inhabitants of Dumfries, believing the insurgents’ army to be in considerable force, naturally supposed that they must be the next to surrender. They were not inactive in preparing for defence; and Mr. Ewart, with two other clergymen, collected the farmers and tradesmen in the neighbourhood, and joined their friends in Dumfries. These forces were drawn up in rank and file on the field; when Mr. Ewart, after prayer, addressed them on horseback in a speech full of loyal sentiments.

These preparations, however, though honourable to the persons by whom they were made, turned out not to have been necessary. The rebels visited Dumfries, but left it unmolested, after having extorted contributions from it. Mr. Ewart, on his return home, a distance of about a mile, found two highland officers quartered in his house. He treated them with the greatest hospitality; but did not fail to remonstrate freely with them on the desperate cause which they had espoused.

In the year 1747, Mr. Ewart married Miss Corrie, the only daughter of William Corrie, Esq. of Dumfries; descended from the family of Carlingwark, originally of Burrens. With this lady he enjoyed the utmost happiness, during the remainder of a long life.

In the subsequent part of his life there is little incident. Professional duties occupied his chief care. He was at the same time much given to reading. He omitted no opportunity of communicating pious and virtuous sentiments. To any of his young friends going abroad, his advice was most

appropriate. Such advices were given in that cheerful, frank, and affectionate manner, indicative of his character.

He occasionally attended the meetings of the General Assembly at Edinburgh, in which city he had many relations and friends.* In 1760, he visited London, accompanied by his brother-in-law, Mr. William Corrie. Of this excursion he ever afterwards spoke with pleasure. He saw George II. at the Chapel Royal a few months before his death; but he highly disapproved of his majesty's engaging in conversation with some of his attendants, during the time of divine service. He had the privilege of seeing some of the most eminent parliamentary orators of that time.

In 1778, he published a small work in the form of a catechism, chiefly on the principal points of difference between the Protestant and Roman Catholic faith. This treatise seems to have been meant specially for his own parish, in which there were a few papists. There was, indeed, a Roman Catholic Chapel in it belonging to an opulent family, in which a priest of that persuasion regularly officiated. With that family and with their clergyman, Mr. Ewart always lived in terms of the greatest harmony. Pains having been taken to make converts among Mr. Ewart's flock, and some popish books having been, with that view, circulated among them, he thought himself called upon to counteract these attempts; and hence the work in question, which he distributed among his hearers. No copy of it can now, I believe, be found.

* Among Mr. Ewart's early friends was, Dr. Maxwell Garthshore of London, with whom he maintained a regular epistolary correspondence till his death. This distinguished physician was son to the Rev. Mr. Garthshore, minister of Kirkcudbright. He married Miss M'Guffog, heiress of Rusco, by whom he became proprietor of that estate. They had an only son of great promise, who predeceased both parents. Dr. Garthshore died in 1812, at the age of 80. He was very wealthy, and so extremely charitable that he commonly spent about L.1000 per annum in acts of beneficence. He was not the author of any literary work, though a man of great literary eminence; but he contributed several articles on professional subjects to the Royal Society of London and to Medical Journals.

In 1791, he drew up a description of the parish of Troquire for the *Statistical Account of Scotland*, in the first volume of which work it appeared; the article is brief, but written with great judgment.

Though Mr. Ewart had now arrived at a very advanced age, he continued to enjoy the best health and the greatest vivacity, a circumstance which was undoubtedly owing, in no mean degree, to his habits of very early rising, his temperance and activity. Before his death, however, Mr. Joseph Easton (who did not survive him long) was ordained his helper and successor in the parish of Troquire. His dissolution was very sudden; a species of death which, in the case of a good man, he often spoke of as desirable. Mrs. Ewart and he being on a visit to their daughter and son-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Porter, at that time living at Youngfield, near Dumfries, he was in excellent spirits, and so well that he spent about an hour and a half in the open air. Another son-in-law, Dr. John Gilchrist of Dumfries, joined them at dinner; and it has been alleged, that Mr. Ewart had not passed a more cheerful day during the previous twenty years. Yet there was literally but a step between him and death. At night he walked up stairs to his apartment with Mrs. Ewart; and in a few minutes after he had laid his head on his pillow, he breathed his last. This event took place on the 5th of September 1799, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and sixty-third of his ministry. His funeral sermon was preached by his nephew, the late Rev. Andrew Yorstoun, minister of Closeburn.

In stature Mr. Ewart was not above the middle size; he was of slender make, of great activity and cheerfulness. The portrait prefixed to his posthumous works, (of which we have yet to speak,) is a striking likeness of him.

Mrs. Ewart survived her husband upwards of eleven years, and died on the third of January 1811, when upwards of eighty years of age. They had a numerous family of sons and daughters, of whom three, one son and two daughters, still survive. Of the sons, (three in number,) who are dead, we cannot resist giving a brief account.

Joseph, the eldest, distinguished from his youth for superior talents, happening to visit Berlin when travelling with Macdonald of Clanronald, acquired the friendship and confidence of Sir John Stepney, then British ambassador at the court of Prussia. His excellency, having occasion to return to England, left Mr. Ewart as chargé d'affaires in his absence. This was the beginning of a brilliant but brief career. After going through some subordinate steps, he was appointed minister plenipotentiary on the part of Britain at Berlin. He married the Countess Warstenleben, by whom he had a family. Having returned to England for the benefit of his health, which had long been declining, he died at Bath in 1792. He was a person of great accomplishments, eminent diplomatic character, and high in the estimation both of the British and Prussian governments.

The second son of the Rev. Mr. Ewart was William, long a distinguished merchant in Liverpool, of whom the late Mr. Canning declared, that he never knew "a more upright, honourable, right-minded, and kind-hearted man;" an opinion which received the sanction of the late Mr. Huskisson. He died in October 1823. William Ewart, Esq. M. P. for Liverpool, is his second son.

John Ewart, M. D., was third son of the minister of Troquire. He was settled at Bath as a physician. He afterwards went to India as inspector-general of hospitals, and died there in 1799.

Two works, namely, *Lectures on the Psalms*, and *Biographical Sketches of Eminent Characters*, written by Mr. Ewart, have been published since his death. The MS. of the former was given by the author to his daughter Mrs. Porter and her husband,* a few weeks before his death, with a request that

* William Porter, Esq., died at London in May 1815. He was a native of Galloway, educated at the university of Edinburgh, and, in 1764, when twenty-two years of age, was selected to accompany Dr. Dumaesque to St. Petersburg, to assist in forming the imperial academy there. He afterwards entered into commercial life in that city, where he resided upwards of twenty years. By these contingencies in business which often the best

one volume should be first published, chiefly for the use of his grandchildren, and that, if it should be favourably received by the public, the remaining two might follow. Of this useful work the first volume appeared in 1822; the other two in 1826. These *Lectures*, abounding with historical and biographical illustrations, were never preached, but were meant for the use of private families, particularly for the improvement of the young; an object which they are admirably calculated to serve. The *Biographical Sketches*, which did not appear till 1830, are of a varied but interesting description. The volume contains also "Miscellaneous Pieces, in verse and prose;" including several letters written by Mr. Ewart to a grandson, and to his son Dr. John Ewart, which do honour to the memory of the venerable writer. To the *Lectures* is contributed an excellent *Memoir of the Author*, written, we have reason to believe, by Mrs. Porter. To both works is prefixed the engraving of Mr. Ewart to which we have already referred.

The Rev. ANDREW DONNAN was descended of a family that had for centuries been established as respectable farmers in Wigtonshire. The surname which they bore is supposed to be synonymous with Donnegan, and to be of Irish origin. Mr. Donnan was the son of Mr. William Donnan who rented the farm of Ersick, in the parish of Whithorn, and of Margaret Fullerton. He studied at the university of Glasgow; his views were directed to the church; and after undergoing the usual course of education, he received his licence as a preacher from his native presbytery. He was early distinguished for superior talents. The late Dr. Murray, no mean judge, characterised

skill cannot avoid, he was deprived of all he had gained. But "his integrity and honour were unblemished." A short time before his death, he was appointed one of the commissioners of the customs in Scotland. He was a person of great respectability, of sound scholarship, and extensive acquirements. See character of Mr. Porter in *Gentleman's Magazine* for May 1815, written by Lord St. Helens.

him as "an excellent man and scholar." He acted for some time as an assistant-teacher in the grammar school of Wigton; and the Rev. David Henderson, minister of that burgh, though not advanced in life, having been for some time unable from indisposition to perform his public duties, Mr. Donnan officiated in his room, and gave universal satisfaction. This connexion led the way to his subsequent appointment as minister of that parish. Mr. Henderson having died in the year 1784, though powerful influence was used to procure the living for another respectable candidate, Mr. Donnan having gained the esteem and confidence of the people of Wigton, was nominated his successor, owing chiefly to the exertions of his friend Mr. Hawthorn, one of the magistrates of the burgh. Nor had the flock, to whose pastoral care he was thus appointed, reason to regret his preferment. He rose in their esteem daily, inso-much that the present writer has heard it remarked that they did not merely respect him, but were proud of him. He was in truth a man of superior character. His pulpit discourses were remarkable for their lucid arrangement, perspicuous illustration, and practical tendency. The editor of his posthumous volume of sermons describes them as "truly edifying, and well calculated to recommend sound principles and good morals," and as exhibiting "great clearness and strength of thought upon subjects of much importance in Christian doctrine and practice." Nor while he was thus esteemed and useful as a preacher, did he neglect the private duties of his office. These, indeed, he discharged in the most exemplary manner; and was altogether a most efficient and acceptable minister of the Gospel.

The Paraphrases which had recently been composed under the sanction of the General Assembly, and appointed to be sung as a part of public worship, had not been generally introduced at that time. In Mr. Donnan's parish they had not been used before his induction to the charge. He thought it his duty to introduce them; a step which excited among the lower orders of his flock considerable displeasure and opposition. But being convinced that these Paraphrases formed a

manifest improvement in the psalmody of our church, and as not a few of them contained references to the gospel-dispensation, which necessarily could not be found in the Psalms of David, he continued steadfast to his resolution. Nor was the opposition of the people either long-continued or violent. It was in truth soon laid aside; and the laudable object he had in view was realized. There are yet parishes in Scotland in which popular prejudice on this subject has not entirely disappeared. The people of this country in former times suffered so much from having allowed innovations in public worship to creep in, that they are naturally jealous on this point; a circumstance for which, if they do not deserve honour, they ought not to be visited with much blame.

To Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, Mr. Donnan contributed a description of the parish of Wigton. This article is of a simple, unpretending character, but extremely judicious, minute, and appropriate. It was owing to his influence, it may here be mentioned, that the Wigton Subscription Library was formed. This library, which still continues to flourish, was one of the first, if not the very first, established in that quarter of the country. Being a scholar himself, and impressed with the dignity of knowledge, he was anxious to disseminate intelligence among all ranks of the people.

Mr. Donnan had hitherto remained a bachelor. Indeed for nearly ten years after his settlement, he lived as a boarder with Mrs. Henderson, the respectable widow of his predecessor. But on the 29th of July 1794, he was married to Miss Isabella Gordon, daughter of James Gordon, Esq. of Balmeg, in his own parish; the representative of a family descended, about three hundred years before that date, of the house of Lochinvar. Her mother was daughter of the Rev. Samuel Brown of Kirkmabreck, grandfather of the late Dr. Thomas Brown.

But though Mr. Donnan was not yet above middle age, and so far as human views extend, had reason to look forward to many happy and useful years, his days were near a close. On one Sabbath, he dispensed the Sacrament of the Supper to

his people. He returned from church in apparently good health, but was immediately attacked with inflammatory fever, and before the arrival of another Sabbath, was no more. This event took place on the 25th of June 1798, in the forty-seventh year of his age and fourteenth of his ministry. The late Rev. John Steven of Mochrum preached his funeral sermon; a discourse which, on account of its appropriate character and high talent, is yet remembered with interest.

He left behind him a widow and two children, a son and a daughter. Mrs. Donnan survived her husband nearly thirty-one years, having died at Peebles on the 16th of April 1829. The name of this excellent lady, it would be injustice to pass over with this simple notice. She was a person of the greatest energy of character, and benevolence of disposition. In the welfare of any needy or interesting object known to her, she took an interest altogether uncommon. She delighted, in truth, in doing good. Nor were her activity of mind, her extent of intelligence, and her powers of conversation, less eminent than the goodness of her heart.

Mr. Donnan was in figure about the middle size, of dark complexion, very short-sighted, and of simplicity of manners and appearance. He was an excellent classical scholar, fond of books, and of very minute and exact information. He had a decided turn for genealogy and antiquities; and in this department, left behind him some curious papers relative to his native county. He was a man of independent thinking, and of liberal views; and even in times of political excitement and rancour, did not hesitate to judge for himself, and fearlessly to state his sentiments.

About two years after his death, a posthumous volume of his sermons was published. This task was executed by his talented friend and co-presbyter, the late Mr. Graham of Kirkinner.* The discourses had been written without the least

* The Rev. John Graham was a native of the parish of Minnigaff, of which his father was schoolmaster. He was first settled in the parish of Dunlop, Ayrshire, and translated to Kirkinner in 1779, where he died in June 1815, in the eighty-second year of his age, after having been unable

view to publication, and they labour under all the disadvantages of a posthumous work. Yet they are most able compositions, worthy of the character which, as quoted above, the editor gave of them. They are plain, judicious, practical, unambitious of ornament, and yet often both striking and elegant. As examples of this, I would refer in particular to the first sermon in the volume, *on Christian Improvement*, preached on the ordination of the Rev. Elliot W. Davidson of Sorbie; to the sixth, *on the Nature and Obligation of an Oath*; and to the twenty-first, *on the King's Recovery*. The discourse on the nature of an oath is a most elaborate production.

for several years to perform his duties from advanced years. His wife, Christian Hawthorn, predeceased him. They had no children. He was a learned and worthy man, a great theologian, and thoroughly versed in church-law. The marginal annotations which he made on the books he perused, evinced extensive reading and deep thinking.

CHAPTER XVI.

LIVES OF WILLIAM M'GILL, D.D., AND THE REV.
WILLIAM MACARTNEY.

WILLIAM M'GILL, whose life forms the subject of this sketch, was born at Carsenestock, in the parish of Penninghame, Wigtonshire, on the 11th of July 1731. His father, of the same name, rented the farm of Carsenestock, which is still in the possession of his descendants; and his paternal ancestors had been settled as farmers in that near neighbourhood at an earlier period than can now be traced. His mother, Jean Heron, daughter to a respectable tenant in the Moss of Cree, was also descended of a family which, for several generations, had been established in that place or vicinity. Dr. William M'Gill, the subject of this memoir, was the youngest of five children. He seems to have been early destined for the church, and he received an education suitable to such prospects. He attended the parish school at the Old Kirk of Penninghame, then taught by Mr. Gordon. Though the school was distant three miles from Carsenestock, he was never willingly absent, and regretted when circumstances occurred to detain him at home.

He studied at the university of Glasgow. During the course of his academical education, and after he had obtained licence as preacher, he was engaged as tutor in successive respectable families. The second or junior charge of Ayr, having become vacant, in October 1757, was not supplied till the 22d of October 1761; at which period Dr. M'Gill, who was resid-

ing in the neighbourhood as tutor in a gentleman's family, and whose appearances as a preacher had been most acceptable, was, on the solicitation of the people, inducted to that living. Dr. William Dalrymple, having been ordained in 1746, held the senior or first charge; and it is a remarkable fact that though Dr. M'Gill lived to be forty-six years a clergyman, Dr. Dalrymple survived him, having died in 1814, after having been sixty-eight years in the ministry. Between these two clergymen, the greatest friendship and happiness obtained during the protracted period of their joint incumbency.

Two years after his settlement, Dr. M'Gill married Elizabeth Dunlop, daughter of a merchant in Ayr. The Dunlops were connected with some of the best families; and Mrs. M'Gill was niece to Dr. Dalrymple, her husband's colleague. This lady, though she was distinguished by many amiable qualities, was possessed of a very tender and nervous constitution; her temper and mode of thinking were variable and capricious; and Dr. M'Gill, it is feared, did not derive that happiness from his marriage that he had reason to expect.

His wife brought him a fortune of about L.700. But being deposited in the Douglas and Heron bank in Ayr, it was lost, on the failure of that company in 1772. Owing to the celebrity of the academy of that town, he received a limited number of young gentlemen into his house as boarders, who were undergoing their elementary education. By this means no inconsiderable addition was made to his official income, which was very limited.

He was, meanwhile, assiduously employed in the discharge of his sacred functions. His preparation for the pulpit was regular and unremitting; and he spent much of his time in the other private week-day duties of his office. He was altogether a most useful minister of the Gospel, and enjoyed in an eminent degree the confidence and respect of his people. He had, also, for some time, been engaged in preparing a work of a theological nature for the press; which was published in 1786, under the title of *A Practical Essay on the Death of Jesus Christ, in two parts, containing, 1, the History,*

2, *the Doctrine of his Death*.* This treatise, which was supposed to inculcate principles, both of Arian and Socinian character, created a deep sensation, not only among the orthodox clergy of the established church, but also among dissenters. Numerous pamphlets were written in answer to it; theological journals laboured to expose its errors; and not a few clergymen of different denominations thought it their duty to warn their hearers from the pulpit against its pernicious tendency. The whole west of Scotland was involved in a religious ferment. The author, meanwhile, remained silent; and neither by way of explanation or self-defence, did he condescend to notice any of the pamphlets that had appeared against him.

The truth is, Dr. M'Gill's *Essay* did embrace to a certain degree, sentiments not consentaneous to the word of God, or the standards of our national church. Orthodox theology never stood lower in this country than at the time in which this work appeared. "Along with the elegant literature of our sister country," says Dr. Chalmers, in his eloquent sermon preached on the death of Dr. Andrew Thomson, "did the meagre Arminianism of her church make invasion among our clergy; and we certainly receded for a time from the good old way of our forefathers. This was the middle age of the church of Scotland, an age of cold and feeble rationality, when evangelism was derided as fanatical, and its very phrasology was deemed an ignoble and vulgar thing." To that party in the church to whom these words more especially refer, and who at that period were altogether predominant, Dr. M'Gill belonged; and though a man, not only of irreproachable but exemplary moral character, and most indefatigable and popular as a clergyman, he seems to have receded as far as possible from the sentiments of the party to whom he was opposed, while he carried to an extreme extent his own peculiar views. But the circumstances of the church in this respect are quite changed. Both sides seem to combine, or to rival each other, in promot-

* This work, which extends to 550 octavo pages, is inscribed to Dr. Dalrymple, his colleague.

ing sound religious views, and in reviving what has been termed “the olden theology of Scotland.”

Dr. M‘Gill’s *Essay*, though the alarm excited by it was strong and general, a feeling increased by the irreligious and wanton sarcasm of Burns, had not as yet attracted the notice of the ecclesiastical courts. This forbearance on the part of these judicatories may be imputed to the great respectability of the reverend author, and to the high estimation in which as a clergyman he was held. But circumstances soon occurred which brought the matter to a crisis, and rendered inquiry unavoidable.

The General Assembly, in 1788, appointed a national thanksgiving to be observed on the 5th of November of that year, to commemorate the goodness of divine providence for the blessings of the Revolution, which, a hundred years before, had established presbytery as our national church, and secured those civil and religious privileges which we still enjoy. The purity of the standards of our church, and the necessity of preserving them inviolate, were naturally dwelt upon by clergymen on this occasion. Several sermons delivered on that day were published; and among others, was one by Dr. Peebles, minister of Newton-upon-Ayr. In this discourse, the author, not only thought it his duty to animadvert most severely on several passages of Dr. M‘Gill’s *Essay*, as containing heretical sentiments, but characterised him as a person, “with one hand receiving the privileges of the church, while, with the other, he was endeavouring to plunge the keenest poignard into her heart.” This exposure or attack, proceeding, as it did, from one with whom he had hitherto lived on terms of friendship, Dr. M‘Gill seems to have felt acutely; and notwithstanding his former silence, resolved to write a reply on this occasion. This he did by publishing his own sermon delivered on the 5th of November; to which he subjoined an appendix, elaborately composed, and extending to upwards of thirty pages, in strenuous support of his former views, and directing reflections of the severest personal censure against his opponent.

Under such circumstances, the church courts were forced to take such steps as had been long expected of them, and to vindicate their standards. The matter not having been brought before the presbytery of Ayr, an overture on the subject was laid before the synod of Glasgow and Ayr, in April 1789, three years after the publication of the obnoxious treatise. It being very properly insisted on that the case should originate in the radical court, and an appeal on this point having been lodged to the ensuing General Assembly, it was remitted to the presbytery, with instruction to take such steps as they should find necessary for preserving the purity of the doctrines of the church, and the authority of her standards. The presbytery of Ayr, accordingly, proceeded to carry this recommendation into effect. But of the proceedings that took place, it is not necessary here to give a minute account. It may be enough to say, that Dr. M^cGill continued to defend his opinions, though he at the same time declared that his views were not hostile to the authority, or incompatible with the doctrines of the church; that from the complicated nature of the case, the presbytery found it necessary to apply to the synod, which met in the ensuing month of October, for advice and direction; and that a committee, appointed to examine into the nature of the alleged errors contained in his works, gave in an able and elaborate report, stating and illustrating, by a reference to the word of God and the standards of the church, that they inculcated heretical sentiments, 1. On the doctrine of the atonement by the sufferings and death of Jesus Christ. 2. On the person and character of Jesus Christ. 3. On the priesthood and intercession of Christ. 4. On the method of reconciliation to God in the way of repentance. And 5. On subscription to the Confession of Faith.

This important question ultimately came before the synod which met at Glasgow on the 13th of April 1790. The interest excited by it had now become intense. The court was crowded to excess. And Mr. Graham of Kirkinner had come from that distant parish, as the corresponding member from the synod of Galloway, to support his early and highly valued friend. But mat-

ters now assumed an appearance that had not been anticipated. Dr. M^cGill, on the second day of the meeting of the court, before the business was resumed, rose, and instead of defending the protest and appeal which he had lodged, signified his ardent desire that no farther proceedings should take place, and that matters should be accommodated. To this candid proposal no objections were stated. On the contrary, a committee of six members was appointed to converse with him, and to endeavour to bring the matter to so desirable a termination. The endeavour was happily successful. Within two hours the committee returned; and expressed their unanimous satisfaction with Dr. M^cGill's explanations and apology, which they were authorized in his name to submit to the synod. This document was in these words:

“I am extremely sorry that what was honestly intended by me to serve the interests of piety, charity, and peace, should have given ground of offence to my Christian brethren. My Essay on the Death of Jesus Christ was designed to be wholly practical. My sole object was to promote practical godliness, founded on the facts and circumstances of the gospel history: and upon this design I was so intent that I may in some instances have omitted things which I hold to be true, when the practical use of them did not immediately occur to me. In every work of man, more especially a work of some length and variety, it is not to be expected but there will be failures and blemishes which may have crept into it; at which, however, men of judgment and candour will not be offended, when they are convinced that the design, upon the whole, is good.

“These things being premised, my general answer to the first article in the report is,

“1st, That I have explained ‘the Doctrine of the Atonement by the Sufferings and Death of Christ,’ if not with all the advantage that might be wished, yet in the way that appeared to me most agreeable to the plain and undeniable facts of the gospel record, most instructive and edifying in its tendency, and least liable to be perverted by sinners into a pretence for continuing in their sins; but, on the contrary, to

afford them pressing motives to a speedy repentance. It seems likewise calculated to comfort and confirm good men, and animate them in well-doing. I have, after the evangelists, given a minute detail of Christ's sufferings for our sins, and largely insisted on the merit of his obedience unto death, as the foundation of all our hopes of pardon and salvation. And what is advanced upon this head, I hoped upon the whole, would have been thought agreeable, not only to the word of God, which was my only rule in composing it, but likewise to the Confession of Faith, which always represents the perfect obedience and unspotted sacrifice of Christ, as that which avails with God in behalf of penitent sinners. Chap. viii. 3, 4, 5; chap. xi. 3.

“To the 2d article of the report, I answer, That my subject required me to consider our Lord Jesus Christ simply, first, in his suffering character, as a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief: And then, in reward of his obedience, as highly exalted at God's right hand, and made head over all things to the church. If any word hath escaped me, disparaging to the ‘person and character of our Divine Saviour,’ it was certainly far from my intention, as I always studied to speak of him in Scripture language, or in the language which I took to be of like import with that of Scripture.

“To the 3d article, my answer is, That though I have hinted some reasons, why some of the expressions relating to Christ's priesthood are not to be understood literally, but in a figurative sense, and in allusion to the high priests under the law; yet I never meant to say, that the doctrine of Christ's priesthood and intercession was figurative; but do maintain that it was real, important, and highly necessary both to our present comfort and eternal salvation. For thereby we are assured of the pardon of sin, when we sincerely repent of it, and may depend on receiving, in answer to our prayers, all needful aid and succour from above, under our infirmities; we have freedom of access to the throne of grace, and are encouraged to serve God with the spirit of love, and joy, and hope. And all these and other benefits which we enjoy or hope for

through Christ, are founded on the willing and acceptable sacrifice and oblation which he made of himself on the cross. The whole of this, as far as I understand, is agreeable to the holy Scripture, and also to our other standards.

“As to the 4th article, ‘The method of reconciling sinners to God by repentance,’ I only meant, by what I said on that article, that though our reconciliation to God is solely by the death of Christ, it is never effected without the sinner being brought to repentance. As I know no other name under heaven, given among men, whereby we must be saved, but that of Jesus Christ, so I know no method of salvation but what he has pointed out in his gospel; and that, I conceive, is the method of faith and repentance. ‘This is the work of God, that ye believe on him whom he hath sent: and except ye repent, ye shall all likewise perish.’ So speaks the Saviour of the world; and does not our Confession say, ‘Repentance is of such necessity to sinners, that none may expect pardon without it?’ Chap. xv. 3.

“Now for the *last* article in the report, ‘Concerning subscription.’ I have indeed given my opinion, that it would be better if the practice of it were laid aside, as it was certainly for some centuries unknown in the Christian Church, and was not even practised in our own church for many years after the Confession of Faith was adopted. But that is a political question, like patronage, and many others, where, I apprehend, a man may lawfully propose his opinion, with the reasons of it, whether well or ill founded, as to what he thinks may be for the good of religion and society, without being liable to any censure on that account. Upon the whole, I assert, as I have formerly done more than once, that far from being inimical in any respect, I am a zealous, though weak friend to the constitution and authority of the church of Scotland, in doctrine, discipline, and worship, and do cordially condemn whatever appears inconsistent therewith.

“And considering, that every member of the church of Scotland is bound by very solemn engagements, to adhere to her standards, and that these standards are the only authori-

tative interpreters of the sacred scriptures among us, I hereby again declare, that I am sorry that my publications should have given offence to any of my brethren, or to the world. And now, upon further reflection, I am sensible that there are ideas contained in these publications which may appear improper, and modes of expression ambiguous and unguarded, particularly respecting the doctrine of the atonement by the sufferings and death of Christ; his person and character; the priesthood and intercession of Christ; the method of reconciling sinners to God; and subscription to the Confession of Faith; all which ideas I hereby disclaim, and for all such expressions I am heartily sorry, and hereby declare my belief in these great articles, as they are laid down in the standards of this church. I therefore intreat the Reverend Synod to receive this my apology, which I leave with them, and submit it to their determination to publish these my explanations and apology to the world, if they shall think it necessary.*

“WILLIAM M'GILL.”

The only object of the Synod being peace and the advancement of truth, this ample and manly apology was sustained by the court without a dissentient voice; a result honourable to all the parties concerned, and favourable to the cause of religion in general, and particularly in that quarter of the country which had of late been so severely agitated. The court, deeply impressed with these considerations, appointed

* In Lockhart's *Life of Burns* is this sentence, “Dr. M'Gill was fain to acknowledge his errors, and promise that he would take an early opportunity of apologizing for them to his own congregation from the pulpit—which promise, however, he never performed.” No such promise was ever asked of him, or made, and therefore could not be performed. The assertion, in short, though made with such confidence, is unfounded in truth.

The apology was ordered by the Synod to be published by the clerk, with two sections of the Confession of Faith, as suggested by a member, after the apology had been given in,—the one respecting the original and essential dignity of the Son of God,—the other illustrative of the doctrine of the Atonement.

Dr. Dalrymple to offer up prayers to Almighty God, and to express their thankfulness for the divine countenance and direction with which, in this important matter, they had been favoured.

During the discussions which terminated so happily, Dr. M'Gill's flock, with very few exceptions, continued faithfully attached to him. Their affection for him, indeed, seems rather to have gained strength during the prosecution. On the subject being first brought before the Synod, the magistrates of Ayr felt themselves, (to use their own words), "irresistibly called upon, in justice to truth and ministerial usefulness, to bear their public testimony" to the exemplary faithfulness, and, so far as they could judge, to the orthodoxy by which, as a clergyman, Dr. M'Gill was characterised.

With the settlement of this question, every thing like incident in Dr. M'Gill's life terminated. It "affords matter for praise rather than narrative." He paid occasional visits, as he always had done, to his relations in Galloway. At home he was doomed to suffer deep family distress. He had been left a widower before the time at which our narrative has arrived. When he made his last will in 1791, out of a family of eight, only three survived, one of whom it had been found necessary to place in a lunatic asylum. The melancholy truth is, that, though his children in early youth were most interesting and promising, yet, as they arrived at maturity, they all showed symptoms of something approaching to mental imbecility. Probably, however, had their life been prolonged, it might have sunk into that state of nervous sensibility in which their deceased parent had so long remained.

The last visit he paid to Galloway was on an occasion which, old as he was, induced him to make a great exertion to accomplish his purpose. It was in July 1805, to celebrate the marriage of his nephew, Mr. Andrew M'Gill, the respectable tenant of Barsalloch, in his native parish of Penninghame. At this time, he preached at Kirkinner, for his friend Mr. Graham. His constitution had lost much of its original

vigour; and his gait had ceased to be so erect as it had formerly been.

About a year after his return to Ayr, the following letter was written by him to Mr. M·Gill in Barsalloch.

“ Ayr, 18th March, 1806.

“ DEAR FRIEND,

“ I WAS really beginning to think, on account of the length of time since I had heard from you, that, in administering the ceremony of your marriage, I had performed the last duty to a departed friend. But your most welcome letter of the 15th instant, has happily relieved me, and given me the comfort to know that you and your partner, as well as other friends, are well. Your former letter was dated 6th October last. I never leave any letters of my friends long unacknowledged when I am able; but I cannot continue to write when I receive no answer. On this account I have been obliged to give up even my dear friend Mr. Graham, my faithful correspondent for fifty years.

“ When you write to Jamaica, [where he had two nephews, sons to his younger brother James M·Gill, farmer in Clary,] remember me kindly to our friends there, whose welfare I rejoice in. I am happy that your farm promises to do well. But moderate expectations are best, and moderate cares about the world. Sunday last was the first day, since I saw you, that I was prevented from doing public duty by indisposition. I am now confined to the house with a severe cough, though better than I was some days ago. What can I expect at my time of life? I am willing to depart. * * *

“ I remain, dear nephew, your affectionate uncle and faithful friend,

“ WM. M·GILL.”

At this period, and for a long time previously, he had been afflicted with asthma, which never afterwards left him. He died on the 30th of March 1807, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and forty-sixth of his ministry.

He left behind him only one child, a daughter, named Graham in honour of his old friend, the minister of Kirkinner. This lady still survives, and is unmarried. Her father died possessed of such funds as afford her an ample competency.

In addition to the *Practical Essay on the Death of Christ*, and the *Benefits of the Reformation*, a sermon, with an appendix, published in reply to the animadversions of Dr. Peebles, he was the author of two excellent discourses inserted in the third volume of the *Scotch Preacher*. He also published some occasional detached sermons, designed chiefly for the benefit of his own flock. These compositions are the result of superior talents and acquirements on the part of their author. It is to be regretted that his large work is marked by such vagueness of language as to admit even of the suspicion of error, or by heretical views, however unintentional on his part, of which a distinct disavowal or qualification was afterwards necessary. His sermons are practical and pious. His learning was very considerable; his reading extensive; his habits literary; and he enjoyed the acquaintance of some of the most distinguished men in this part of the island, and maintained an epistolary correspondence with them.

His professional and moral character was pure. He was warmly attached to his relations, and cultivated regular intercourse with them. In his domestic capacity, whatever were the trials which in this respect he underwent, he was exemplary. His friendships were steady; and by his friends he was generally not only respected but beloved. We have seen that he had opponents; but he was never known to have a personal enemy. His manners were mild; and his conversation lively, agreeable, and instructive. He was possessed of great equanimity, the result of natural strength of mind, as well as of an abiding principle of piety and of dependence on the wisdom of divine providence. When one of his children who had come to an untimely death, was lying a corpse, he did not hesitate to perform the public duties of the Sabbath with his usual composure and firmness.

As to his personal figure, he was about six feet in height,

of erect carriage, and of clerical appearance. He never was corpulent; and towards the end of his days, his figure became comparatively shrivelled, but was still venerable.

THE Reverend WILLIAM MACARTNEY or M' CARTNEY,* was born at the Mill or Mains of Penninghame, on the 10th of October 1762. His father, Mr. James M'Cartney, was tenant of that farm, and likewise carried on the business of a corn-miller. His mother was Margaret Cowan, daughter of James Cowan, merchant in Newton Stewart. By his paternal grandmother, Agnes Milligan, who was married to William Thomson as her second husband, Mr. Macartney and the late Rev. James Thomson of Balmaclellan, were cousins. Mr. Macartney was also connected by marriage with Dr. M'Gill, whose biography we have just finished.

The Macartneys are an old family in Galloway. But the branch of them from which the subject of this sketch was sprung, had emigrated thither from Ireland, though, as mentioned in the life of Mr. James Hill in this work, even the Irish branch was of Scottish origin.† Mr. William Macartney received his early education under Mr. James Wood, afterwards successively minister of Calton chapel, Glasgow, and of the Presbyterian chapel of Falstone, Northumberland. The parochial school, (as well as the church,) being soon removed from the village of Penninghame to Newton-Stewart, young Macartney, instead of following it thither, was sent to the

* For the materials of which this sketch is composed, I am indebted to a valuable communication from William Thomson, Esq. merchant, Glasgow. To Dr. Boyd of the Edinburgh High School, I owe similar obligations. Mr. Thomson also favoured me with some information relative to Dr. M'Gill's life.

† Francis Macartney, great-grandfather of the Rev. William Macartney, emigrated from Ireland to Scotland, and settled at Ersick, parish of Whitehorn. The Irish branch was afterwards ennobled by the title of Earl of Macartney.

grammar school of Wigton, distant about five miles. This latter seminary was then most ably taught by Dr. Cririe, now the venerable minister of Dalton, Dumfries-shire.

His views had at an early period been directed to the church. But circumstances occurred which gave them, at least for a time, a different tendency. Owing to the advice of his maternal uncle, the Rev. David Henderson, minister of Wigton, (for his grandmother had been twice married,) he entered the office of Mr. Robert Fergusson, writer in that burgh, with the view of serving an apprenticeship under him. In this employment, however, from whatever cause, he continued only a fortnight. His friends afterwards resolved to send him to Jamaica, under the auspices of another uncle, George Henderson, Esq. of that island. With this view he set out, accompanied by his elder brother James, to Glasgow; but whether fortunately or otherwise, he was too late in reaching that city, as the vessel in which it was meant he should go had sailed before his arrival. Thus disappointed, he returned home, and resumed with renewed vigour those studies from which nothing was afterwards allowed to withdraw him.

When he entered the university of Edinburgh, having previously enjoyed every advantage of education, he was qualified to join the senior Latin and Greek classes. He made not only a respectable but an eminent figure in the various branches of study in which he engaged, insomuch that he attracted the attention or gained the friendship of several of the professors. He was now enabled to support himself and defray the expenses of his college studies by engaging in teaching. On the recommendation of some of the professors, he was employed at different times in directing the education of young men of high birth or of advanced scholarship; some of whom have since made a distinguished figure in public life. The dead languages were his favourite study; and it was chiefly in giving instruction in these that he was employed.

After having completed at college the course of education which the laws of the church prescribe, he was licensed as a preacher of the gospel by the presbytery of Haddington. His

first sermon was preached for Dr. Blair, in the High Church of Edinburgh. Owing to the influence of Sir Islay Campbell, to whose sons he had been tutor, Mr. Macartney was presented to the parish of Old Kilpatrick, in the presbytery of Dumbarton, and was ordained to that charge on the 18th of April 1794. Three years after his settlement, he was most happily married to Miss Janet Park, of a respectable family in Greenock.

He belonged at this time to what has been denominated the moderate party in the church, but he afterwards abandoned their views, and attached himself to their ecclesiastical opponents. As a clergyman he stood very high. He was an energetic, clear, and striking preacher. His private official duties he performed with great punctuality, and entirely to the satisfaction of the people whose best interests were the object of his labours. His chief care, in truth, centred in his flock. He watched over them as one that must give an account. He was at the same time their enlightened counsellor and faithful pastor. His studies, while at college, had comprehended some of the medical classes; and in this capacity he made himself very useful to the lower orders of his people.

But amidst his usefulness and happiness, a misunderstanding, which was never brought to an amicable adjustment, took place, respecting parish matters, between him and the heritors of the parish, and caused him great annoyance.* It would

* This misunderstanding originated in a question respecting the management of the poor's funds. Under the care of Mr. Macartney and his respectable session, an assessment, considerably under £100, was annually required. The heritors alleged that this sum was extravagant; and wished in various ways to cripple the powers of the kirk-session, and to make that body tamely subservient to their views. The session offered to continue their gratuitous and benevolent labours if no undue interference was made with them. Matters, however, came at length to that extremity that the session found themselves called upon, as an independent court, to resign the management of the poor's funds into the hands of the heritors. The result of this step, which was taken solely on account of the arrogant behaviour of these gentlemen, may easily be conjectured. The assessment immediately rose to three or four times the sum which, under the prudent management of the session, had been found necessary.

perhaps be impolitic to enter minutely on this question. But this may be said, that Mr. Macartney, though from the treatment he met with, he may not always have given that "soft answer which turneth away wrath," was always right at bottom and in principle. He regarded the conduct of his heritors as illiberal and arrogant; and in the unflinching opposition he made to them, he showed his characteristic independence. His people and his session to a man steadfastly adhered to him; and the heritors, five in number, were the only persons in the parish who did not respect or venerate him. His popularity, indeed, seems to have increased from year to year in proportion as means were used to destroy it; and after his death, his parishioners erected, at their own expense, a monument to his memory, "in testimony of their respect for his worth and independent principles."

From the time he entered college, he had been distinguished as an able scholar and as a man of literary study; and this character he sustained till the end of his days. Before his settlement he had published two pamphlets on education. After his induction to Old Kilpatrick, he wrote an essay on the trade with India; and he contributed various articles to periodical works, particularly to the *Christian Instructor*. He enjoyed the friendship of Dr. Andrew Thomson, the editor of that journal; a man whose character in many respects resembled his own. As it has been said of that lamented clergyman that, had he been bred to the law, he would have risen to the summit of that profession, a similar remark has often been made, (even by some of his heritors,) of Mr. Macartney. In 1798, he published the best translation that has yet appeared of an important work, entitled *The Treatise of Cicero De Officiis, or his Essay on Moral Duty, translated and ac-*

It may here also be mentioned, that before Mr. Macartney's incumbency, and we believe, since his death, certain persons in the parish were obliged by the heritors to pay for church accommodation. Such payment is, we understand, quite unwarrantable and illegal, and as such, Mr. Macartney, much to his honour, and, notwithstanding the opposition of the heritors, did not rest till he got it abolished.

companied with notes and observations. This version is composed in an elegant, pure, and forcible style. The notes are ethical and biographical, rather than critical.

He lived to see his family, five in number, four sons and a daughter, educated, and all settled in life except one, Dr. John Macartney, who has since commenced practice as a physician in Liverpool. Of his three other sons, one is settled as a merchant in the city of Mexico; two are engaged in the same capacity in South America. His daughter is respectably married in Glasgow.

He did not arrive at very advanced years, having died on the 26th of October 1828, in the sixty-sixth year of his age, and thirty-fourth of his ministry. Mrs. Macartney survives him.

Mr. Macartney was a man about the middle size, of dark eyes, black hair, and florid complexion. In his latter days, he became rather corpulent, and his hair white.

He was a man of sound principle, of correct judgment, of independent thought and action, of extensive reading and minute information. He made extracts from every book of merit he perused; and the extent of his manuscripts of this kind is surprisingly great. His natural temperament was warm; his decision was prompt and unflinching; and he expressed himself strongly under any circumstances, when his principles or his feelings were deeply interested. Baseness or dishonour he held in unspeakable detestation. His political sentiments belonged to the Whig school. His affections were kind. His friendships were intense and steady. He was a man of wit, vivacity, and sarcasm. He hated oppression. In his own parish, he lent his assistance to the weak; and was not inaptly termed the poor man's friend.

CHAPTER XVII.

LIFE OF ROBERT HERON.

ROBERT HERON was born at New-Galloway, a royal borough in the stewartry of Kirkeudbright, on the 6th day of November 1764. His father, John Heron, though he followed the humble trade of a weaver, was a most respectable man.* By his paternal grandmother, Margaret Murray, aunt to the late Dr. Murray, the subject of this memoir was not very distantly related to that celebrated linguist.

He began his letters under his mother, and did not attend the parish school till he had attained his ninth year. He was soon distinguished as a boy of great attention and insatiable curiosity; and his parents perceiving the great fondness which he showed for letters, resolved to give him the advantage of a liberal education.

But Mr. Heron did not continue long a burden on his parents. At an early age he endeavoured, by his own exer-

* "John Heron was in the constant habit of practising family worship, even twice a-day, though he had a shop full of young men and apprentices. He was long an elder in Kells. Even at the close of a laborious day, he would throw his plaid about him, and walk for four or five miles to the dwelling of any poor man, laid upon the bed of sickness or of death. He would converse with him on 'the world unseen,' and drop upon his knees by the sick-bed side, and offer a prayer to the common Parent of humanity." *An Essay on the usefulness of kirk-sessions*, by Mr. Gordon Barbour.

tions as a teacher, to support and educate himself. Partly on the savings of his own scanty income, and partly by the assistance of his parents, he removed to the university of Edinburgh in the end of the year 1780; and his views being directed to the church, he followed the course of study which that profession requires. During his attendance at college, he supported himself mostly by private teaching; but having gained some distinction by occasional contributions to newspapers and periodical works, he became known to booksellers, and was afterwards more or less employed by them in translating chiefly from the French, or in original composition. He was first known to the public in 1789, as the superintendent of a small edition of Thomson's Seasons, to which he prefixed a short but excellent critique on the writing and genius of that poet. His first production as a translator was an English version of Fourcroy's Chemistry, which was successively followed by translations of Savary's Travels in Greece, of Dumourier's Letters, and Gesner's Idyls in part; an abstract of Zimmerman on Solitude, and abstracts and abridgments of several Oriental Tales.

In 1790-1, he read lectures on the "Law of Nature, the Law of Nations, the Jewish, the Grecian, the Roman, and the Canon Law, and then on the Feudal Law." "These lectures," as he himself informs us, "were intended as introductory to the professional study of law, and to assist gentlemen who did not study it professionally in the understanding of history." But they did not succeed according to his expectation, and were soon discontinued. He published a syllabus of his course.

No degree of learning, however great, will atone for the want of virtue and prudence. The sums received by Mr. Heron for his literary labours he squandered away thoughtlessly, affecting to live in a rank which it would have required a large and permanent income to support. Owing to his extravagance, his pecuniary affairs fell into a state of embarrassment, and his creditors getting impatient, he was, by them, thrown into prison.

How long he might have continued in confinement, had not his friends interfered, it would be impossible to conjecture. On their suggestion, he undertook to write a *History of Scotland*, for which the Morrisons of Perth were to allow him at the rate of three guineas a-sheet. His creditors now agreed to liberate him, on condition that he should pay them at the rate of fifteen shillings a-pound, and appropriate, for that purpose, two-thirds of the copy-right of his intended publication. It is a melancholy fact, that nearly the first volume of the *History of Scotland* was composed in jail. In 1793, appeared the first volume of this work, consisting of six, of which a volume was published every year successively, till the whole was concluded; and during the same period he gave to the world *A Journey through the Western Parts of Scotland*, in two volumes octavo; *A Topographical Account of Scotland*; *Extracts of Elegant Literature*; *A New and Complete System of Universal Geography*, in two volumes octavo; a short *Life of Robert Burns*, besides several communications for the Edinburgh Magazine, and many prefaces and critiques. He was also employed by Sir John Sinclair in superintending the publication of the *Statistical Account of Scotland*.

But unsuccessful as most of his productions were, he was yet pleased to think himself capable of efforts of a higher kind; and, accordingly, made an attempt at dramatic composition. Never did man make a more erroneous estimate of his powers. His play, which he confesses indeed was written hastily, is devoid of every thing like merit or interest; and, besides, it violates that scrupulous regard to decency of sentiment and of incident, for the breach of which no splendour of genius will atone. He had influence, however, to get it introduced on the Edinburgh stage as an afterpiece; but it was irretrievably condemned ere it reached the second act. The author himself was present, and so thoroughly overwhelmed was he with chagrin and disappointment, that he retired to his lodgings, and kept his bed for several successive days. Bad, however, as his play undoubtedly was, he regarded the decision of the theatre as not only undeserved, but as effected by

the malicious combination of his enemies. He therefore resolved, like Smollet on a similar occasion, to appeal from this verdict to the public, by printing his play,* “to shame the rogues.” It was, however, neither sold nor talked of, and, except by a few of his surviving friends, is now forgotten. Prefixed to it was a long, vapouring preface, the tone and spirit of which may, to a certain degree, be appreciated by the nature of the quotations with which he introduces it. The first is from the pages of *Tristram Shandy* :

“The learned Bishop Hall tells us, in one of his decades at the end of his *Divine Art of Meditation*, ‘that it is an abominable thing for a man to commend himself,’ and I verily think it is so. And yet, on the other hand, when a thing is executed in a masterly kind of a fashion, which thing is not likely to be found out, I think it is fully as abominable that a man should lose the honour of it. This is exactly my situation !” The other is from Dean Swift :

“When a *true genius* appears in the world, you may know him by this sign—that the *dunces* are all in confederacy against him.”

But, amid all his folly and distress, he was not insensible to the calls of filial and fraternal affection. Though his parents remonstrated freely with him respecting his thoughtlessness and extravagance, the tenor of his correspondence with them is of the most respectful and candid description. The following extracts from his letters, written at different periods, confirm this :—

“I hope, by living more piously and carefully, by managing my income frugally, and appropriating a part of it to the service of you and my sisters, and by living with you in future at least a third part of the year, to reconcile your affections more entirely to me, and to give you more comfort than I have yet done.”

“O forget and forgive my follies ;—look on me as a son

* It is entitled, *St. Kilda in Edinburgh ; or News from Camperdown, a Comic Drama, in two acts ; with a critical preface ; to which is added, an account of a famous Ass Race.* Edinburgh, 1798.

who will anxiously strive to comfort and please you, and, after all your misfortunes, to render the evening of your days as happy as possible."

That he afforded his parents much pecuniary assistance, is not very probable. But he seems to have exerted himself in promoting for them the education of their family. "We will endeavour," says he, alluding to this subject in one of his letters, "to settle our dear Grace comfortably in life, and to educate our dear little Betty and Mary aright." His eldest brother John he brought to Edinburgh, to prosecute his studies at the University, as, I believe, he intended him for the church. He seems to have been a young man of very promising talents; but his days were doomed to be few, for he died in 1790, before he had attained the age of manhood.

His sister Mary, also, whose name and worth he has affectionately commemorated in the preface to his *History of Scotland*, he afterwards removed to Edinburgh, to complete her education. The happiness she experienced under her brother's roof was not of the most enviable kind. But her early death, which took place in his own lodgings in 1798, overwhelmed him with poignant sorrow. Every instance of his unkindness to her now rushed on his mind, and he was scarce able to bear the load of existence. Neither the attention of his friends, nor the consolations of religion, could impart to him fortitude or resignation. To add to his distress, his literary labours not having been of late so lucrative as formerly, he was reduced to the very verge of want and starvation, and his mind was daily haunted with the horrors of a jail. Avoiding, as much as possible, every communication with his former associates, he might now be seen skulking about the suburbs of the town, pale and emaciated, and exhibiting all the external symptoms of wretchedness and despair.

But at length he returned with renewed vigour to the active duties of life. And not finding his views succeed in Scotland, he was encouraged to go to London, whither he went in the beginning of 1799. There he was at first well employed. It appears from his letters to his father, that for a few years after

he removed to London, his application to study was great; that his mind was in a state of comparative tranquillity; and that his prospects were cheering:

“ My whole income, earned by full sixteen hours a-day of the closest application to reading, writing, observation, and study, is but very little more than three hundred pounds a-year. But this is sufficient for my wants, and is earned in a manner which I know to be the most useful and honourable, that is, by teaching beneficial truths, and discountenancing vice and folly more effectually and more extensively than I could in any other way. This I am here always sure to earn, while I can give the necessary application; and if I were able to execute more literary labour, I might readily obtain more money.”

His labours in London were of the most miscellaneous kind. For almost all the London Magazines of that time he wrote numerous communications; he was, at various periods, connected with different newspapers, and he was long employed as a reporter of debates in parliament. The *Public Characters*, and the *Annual Necrology*, contain many pieces of his composition. In 1806, he addressed *A Letter to Mr. Wilberforce on the Justice and Expediency of the Slave Trade*. He wrote a short system of chemistry; and, a few months before his death, he published a small work, called the *Comforts of Life*, which it seems met with a rapid sale; and “ I have composed,” says he, in his letter to the Literary Fund, “ a greater variety of fugitive pieces than I know to have been written by any one other person.”

But though, for some time after his arrival in London, he was well employed, and realized a competent income, yet the influence of his former habits at length prevailed: he wrote only when driven to it by pecuniary exigencies; and soon found, that by his folly his friends had forsaken him, and that he was reduced to the lowest extremity of indigence and disgrace. The last years of his life were miserable beyond description. His unhappy situation required uncommon exertions to procure even the scantiest subsistence, or to answer in

the smallest degree the urgent demands of his creditors; and he certifies to us, that "he was obliged to read and write from twelve to sixteen hours a-day!" But no exertions could now ward off the calamities which threatened him. He was thrown into Newgate for debt, where he was confined for some months; at the end of which time, in consequence of indisposition, he was removed to an hospital, where, in the course of a week, without a friend to attend or console him, he breathed his last, on the 13th day of April 1807.

As to Mr. Heron's personal appearance, his figure was rather above the middle size; his gait was very erect, and impressed strangers with the idea of dignity and self-importance: his countenance was pale and care-worn; the colour of his eyes, which were, from study and confinement, generally inflamed, was blue; his nose was long; but, altogether, his countenance had a pleasing expression.

His application to study was peculiar and irregular. While at ease in his pecuniary circumstances, he laid aside his pen and books, and devoted his time to amusement and recreation. He delighted in being regarded as an independent and opulent gentleman. In the hey-day of prosperity, he kept a pair of horses, with a lacquey dressed in livery. But his golden dreams of wealth and rank, though often renewed, were never of long continuance. His funds soon became exhausted; and he would, under these circumstances, resume his studies with unremitting ardour, confining himself for weeks to his room, habited only in his shirt and morning gown, with a green veil over his eyes, which, as just mentioned, were weakened and inflamed by these fits of intense application. In the evening he generally dressed, and relieved his mind by visiting his friends. He composed with the greatest rapidity, and seldom wrote above one copy of any of his works: all his corrections were afterwards made on the proof-sheets.

In taking a survey of Mr. Heron's intellectual endowments, we are struck with the activity and versatility of his talents. Though he did not probably possess great originality of ge-

nus—though his mind did not blossom and produce fruit spontaneously, yet it was naturally so rich and fertile, as abundantly to repay the smallest degree of cultivation and care. His memory was remarkably tenacious; his acquired knowledge was uncommonly extensive; a course of study which commenced with his childhood, and only terminated with his life, had conducted him through almost every department of human acquirement.

But his various publications afford not a fair specimen of his abilities, either natural or acquired. They were almost all written for *bread*, and the subjects of them chosen by booksellers. To examine them singly is unnecessary, as, in his letter to the Literary Fund, he has given a fair and candid estimate of their merit, both in a literary and moral point of view.*

His style is, in general, pompous and declamatory: it is the same on the most trivial subjects as on the most important and dignified; but it is not seldom chaste, elegant, and animated.

But whatever praise be due to his writings, not much is due to his moral character. He did not make use of his knowledge in the direction of his own conduct. He possessed little command over his time or his actions; for he was the easy victim of almost every passion and every temptation; and, on account of his unsteadiness and indecision, his employers could never depend on his promise or his application. His temper was in a great degree unequal and uncertain; his friendship was easily gained and easily lost. The vanity and envy which he displayed on every occasion, and in every company, disgusted his companions, and not unfrequently alienated the affections of his best friends and patrons.

But let us not employ harsh or unkind terms. Human nature, even when exhibited in its happiest aspect, cannot bear a very strict examination, and when weighed in the “balance” of virtue and piety, will be found “wanting.” With all his follies, Heron was not unadorned with many virtues,

* *Appendix. Note G.*

and had ever impressed on his mind a strong sense of the dignity and necessity of religion. In a diary of his life, kept at various periods, and which seems to contain a full and candid account of his feelings and actions, it is recorded that in whatever manner he had spent the day, he never retired to rest at night without bowing his knee in prayer before the throne of the Eternal.

This brief account of his character may be summed up in the words applied by Dr. Johnson to his unfortunate friend Savage:—"The reigning error of his life was, that he mistook the love for the practice of virtue, and was not so much the good man, as the friend of goodness."

CHAPTER XVIII.

LIVES OF ALEXANDER MURRAY, D. D. AND THE REV.
JAMES M'RAY.

ALEXANDER MURRAY, D. D., the subject of this sketch, having been applied to by the Rev. John Garlies Maitland of Minigaff, at the request of Principal Baird, for an account of his early history, transmitted to Mr. Maitland the following interesting narrative.

“ *Manse of Urr, July 20, 1812.*

“ DEAR SIR,

“ I HAVE many strong objections to state against the utility and propriety of the task which Dr. Baird’s partiality for me has imposed on you. First, I have as yet *done nothing* that, in a literary sense, entitles me to a place even in the *most trivial volume of biography*. Next, I have a just aversion from being made a subject of biographical history; as, in fact, on account of the absence of any permanent literary merit, a narrative concerning me must appear to every reader, as narratives of that kind have often appeared to myself, very contemptible *eulogies* of men who were, perhaps, a little clever, but whose actions had left no effects; who, therefore, were not worth a monument, and whose histories seemed mere impertinence to a young aspiring man of letters. Lastly, It is—like human life and human weakness—a piece of absolute uncertainty whether I shall be able to execute my own literary intentions at all, or in a manner creditable to my memory. My ambition is high enough, but my feelings will be much hurt if, in the

event of failure, I shall have the additional mortification of fearing, that I shall be held up to public ridicule by some fool or other, into whose hands the papers of my friends may fall, after their kindness and my small merits have left this scene of *accumulating biography*.*

“ The present motives for this task are produced by friendship and great partiality. Gratitude seems to require that I should not refuse to give *you*, and my other *proven* friend, the means of gratifying an amiable curiosity. But I deprecate all the unpleasant consequences which may follow, and often have followed, the disclosure of *the great importance of a man to himself*, made by the vain personage himself for advancing his own glory, or by the friends who loved him too much to discern his *real magnitude*. In sole compliance, however, with the wishes of the friends whom I shall honour while I live, I shall set down some of the principal facts that respect my studies till the year 1794, when I received your letter of commendation to Dr. Baird.

“ I was born on Sunday, the 22d of October 1775,† and baptized a fortnight after, on Tuesday 7th November—stated in the register of baptisms to be the 27th, but the old style is understood, (in the register.) The place where my father then lived is called Dunkitterick, or commonly Kitterick; in Earse, Dun-cheatharaiach,—the *know* of the cattle. It is on the burn of Palneur, on the south side, about a quarter of a mile from the burn, and on a rivulet that flows from the high hills above on the south. The hills of Craigneildar, Milfore, and others, quite overshadow the spot, and hide it from the sun for three of the winter and spring months. The cottage has been in ruins for more than twenty years, as the farm is *herded* from the house of Tenotrie, the tenant of which holds both Tenotrie and Kitterick. This place, now laid open by a road, was, when my father lived there, in a com-

* “ I allude to the tribe of life-writers by profession.”

† “ I ascertained these points in 1805,—I did not exactly know my age in 1794.”

pletely wild glen, which was traversed by no strangers but smugglers. Patrick Heron's family, in Craigdews, were our next neighbours; and the black rocks of Craigdews were constantly in our sight. My father, Robert Murray, had been a shepherd all his days. He was born in autumn 1706, and remembered the time of the battle of Sheriffmuir. Our clan were, as he said, originally from the Highlands. My great-grandfather, Alexander Murray, had been a tenant, I believe, of Barnkilm,* near the present site of Newton-Stewart, but he had retired into Minigaff village before his death. He had several sons. John, my grandfather, was all his life a shepherd. He married, when he was young, a woman of the name of Helen M'Caa. His children were,—Patrick, father of old John Murray in Blackeraig—my father, (Robert, born in Garlarg,) William, John, and Grisel. My grandfather herded, almost all his married lifetime, the farm of Craigen-callie, rented by old Patrick Heron, Esq. of Heron. My father married, about 1730, a woman of the name of Margaret M'Dowal, and had by her many children—Agnes, John, William, Robert, James. Some of these are still alive,—very old people. All the boys became shepherds. My father lived chiefly in a place called Garrarie, on the river Dee, opposite to Craigen-callie, and in the parish of Kells. His wife died, I think, about 1770. In December 1774, or rather in January 1775, he married my mother, whose name is Mary Cochrane. She was the daughter of a shepherd also, who came originally from the parish of Balmaghie, and whose forefathers had been small tenants on the estate of Woodhall. She was born August 13, 1739, and was more than thirty-five years old at the time of her marriage. My father was then in his sixty-ninth year, which he had completed before I was born.† When I became of age to know him, except his very grey, or rather white, hair,

* "I think this is the name. The lands above Newton-Stewart were held by a number of small tenants."

† "I have one sister—Mary, born in February 1777, or 1778." She is still alive, and is the wife of Mr. Shaw, High Park, Balmaclellan, by whom she has a numerous family.

I remember no symptoms of the influence of time about his person or in his appearance. He enjoyed *hale* good health till about a year before his death, which took place at Torwood, or Derwood, in the parish of Kells, in August 1797.

“ He had been taught to read English in a good style for his time ; he wrote not badly, but exactly like the old men of the seventeenth century. He had a considerable share of acuteness or natural sagacity, a quality possessed by most of his clan. His temper was rather irritable, but not passionate. His moral character was habitually good ; and I know from his way of talking in private about the thefts and rogueries of other persons, that he actually detested these vices. He was very religious in private ; but in company he was merry, fond of old stories, and of singing. Patrick Heron, your elder, if alive, will give you a better account of him than I can. He was no fanatic in religious matters, and always respected the established clergy, whose sermons he never, like many other people, criticised, at least in my hearing. My brother James, his youngest son by the first marriage, died of a fever in 1781 or 1782. His death, which happened at some distance from home, was reported to my father early on a Sunday morning, and I, then a child, could not conceive why my father wept and prayed all that day.

“ Sometime in autumn 1781 he bought a catechism for me, and began to teach me the alphabet. As it was too good a book for me to handle at all times, it was generally locked up, and he throughout the winter drew the figures of the letters to me in his *written* hand on the board of an old *wool-card* with the black end of an extinguished heather-stem or root, snatched from the fire. I soon learned all the alphabet in this form, and became *writer* as well as *reader*. I wrought with the *board* and *brand* continually. Then the catechism was presented, and in a month or two I could read the easier parts of it. I daily amused myself with copying, as above, the *printed* letters. In May 1782 he gave me a small psalm-book, for which I totally abandoned the catechism, which I did not like, and which I tore into two pieces, and concealed in a hole

of a dike. I soon got many psalms by memory, and longed for a new book. Here difficulties rose. The Bible, *used every night* in the family, I was not permitted to open or touch. The rest of the books were put up in chests. I at length got a New Testament, and read the historical parts with great curiosity and ardour. But I longed to read the Bible, which seemed to me a much more pleasant book, and I actually went to where I knew an old loose-leaved Bible lay, and carried it away in piecemeal. I perfectly remember the strange pleasure I felt in reading the history of Abraham and of David. I liked mournful narratives, and greatly admired Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the Lamentations. I pored on these pieces of the Bible in secret, for many months, for I durst not show them openly; and as I read constantly, and remembered well, I soon astonished all our honest neighbours with the large passages of scripture I repeated before them. I have forgot too much of my biblical *knowledge*: but I can still rehearse all the names of the patriarchs from Adam to Christ, and various other narratives seldom committed to memory.

“ My father’s whole property was only two or three scores of sheep, and four muirland cows, his reward for herding the farm of Kitterick for Mr. Alexander Laidlaw in Clatteranshaws, on the other side of the Dee. He had no debts, and *no money*. We lived in a wild glen, five or six miles from Minigaff, and more from New Galloway. All his sons had been bred shepherds; he meant to employ me in that line; and he often blamed me for laziness and uselessness, because I was a bad and negligent *herd-boy*. The fact was, I was always a weakly child, not unhealthy, but yet not stout. I was short-sighted, a defect he did not know, and which was often the occasion of blunders when I was sent to look for cattle. I was sedentary, indolent, and given to books, and writing on boards with coals. In 1723 my fame for wondrous reading, and *a great memory*, was the discourse of the whole glen. But my father could not pay the expenses of lodging and wages for me at any school. In harvest 1733, William Cochrane, a brother of my mother, returned from England, where he had

made a few hundred pounds as a travelling merchant. He came to visit our family, and being informed of my *genius*, as they called it, undertook to place me next spring at New Galloway school, and to lodge me in the house of Alexander Cochrane, my grandfather, then alive, and dwelling about a mile from New Galloway. This simple expedient might have occurred to my parents, but I never heard them propose it: the idea of school-wages frightened them from employing it. I was brought to New Galloway about the 26th of May 1784, and for a month made a very awkward figure in the school, then taught by Mr. William Gordon: he read English well, and had many scholars. Mr. Gillespie, who is almost my equal in years, being born in 1775 or 1776, was then reading the Rudiments of Latin.* My pronunciation of words was laughed at, and my whole speech was a subject of fun. But I soon gained impudence, and before the vacation in August I often stood *dux* of the Bible class. I was in the mean time taught to write copies, and use paper and ink. But I both wrote and printed, that is, imitated printed letters when out of school. My morals did not equally improve. My grandfather was an old man, and could not superintend my proceedings. I learned, therefore, to swear, lie, and do bad tricks, all which practices I have ever since detested. I was fourteen days, or thereby, at this school after the vacation had terminated. But in the beginning of November 1784 I was seized with a bad eruption on the skin, and an illness, which obliged me to leave school, which I saw no more for four years.

“ In spring 1785 my health grew a little better. I was put to assist, as a shepherd boy, the rest of the family. I was still attached to reading, printing of words, and getting by heart ballads, of which I procured several. I had seen the ballad of Chevy Chase at New Galloway, and was quite enraptured with it. About this time, and for years after, I

* “ The Latin scholars then in the school were a Dr. Pape, now in Dumfries; John Heron, now deceased, a relation of my own; Mr. Gillespie; Dr. Alexander Halliday, now in India; Mr. M-Kay, schoolmaster of Balmaclellan, &c. The three last had only read the Rudiments.”

spent every sixpence that friends or strangers gave me on ballads and penny histories. I carried bundles of these in my pockets, and read them when sent to look for cattle on the banks of *Loch Greanoch*, and on the wild hills in its neighbourhood. Those ballads that I liked most were *Chevy Chase*, *Sir James the Rose*, (by Michael Bruce), *Jamie and Nancy*, and all heroic and sorrowful ditties. This course of life continued through 1785, 1786, and 1787. In that time I had read, or rather studied daily, *Sir David Lindsay*, *Sir William Wallace*, the *Cloud of Witnesses*, the *Hind let Loose*, and all the books of piety in the place. My fame for reading, and a *memory*, was loud, and several said I was "a living miracle." I puzzled the honest elders of the church with recitals of scripture, and discourses about Jerusalem, &c. &c. In 1787 and 1788 I borrowed from John Kellie, then in Tenotrie, and still residing, I believe, in Minigaff, Salmon's Geographical Grammar, and L'Estrange's version of Josephus. I got *immense* benefit from Salmon's book. It gave me an idea of geography and universal history, and I actually recollect at this day almost every thing it contains. I learned to copy its maps, but I did not understand the *scale*. In 1788, or early in 1789, Basil Lord Daer came to attend a committee of the gentlemen on the line of road between New Galloway and Newton-Stewart. He had made a map of the whole valley of Palneur from Dee to Cree, which map he lost on the moors near Kitteriek. It was found and given to me, and I practised drawing plans of the glen of Palneur, correcting and printing the names of places, according to my own fancy.

"As I could read and write, I was engaged by the *heads* of two families in Kirkowen parish to teach their children. The name of the one was Robert Milligan, and the other was Alexander Milroy, laird of Morfad, an old and singular man, who had young grandchildren. I taught these pupils during the winter of 1787-8, but got acquainted with few books. I received copies of the numeration and multiplication tables from one M^cWilliam, a boy of my own age, and a brother teacher. I returned home in March 1788. My fees were

fifteen or sixteen shillings. Part of this I laid out on books, one of which was the History of the Twelve Cæsars, translated from Suetonius; another, Cocker's Arithmetic, the plainest of all books, from which in two or three months I learned the four principal rules of arithmetic, and even advanced to the rule of three, with no additional assistance, except the use of an old copy-book of examples, made by some boy at school, and a few verbal directions from my brother Robert, the only one of all my father's sons, by his first marriage, that remained with us. He was then a cattle-dealer on a small scale. In June 1788, I made a visit to Minigaff, and got from old John Simpson, a cartwright, and a great reader, the loan of several volumes of Ruddiman's Weekly or Monthly Magazine during 1773, 1774, and 1775, and an old ill-written and superstitious history of the Four Monarchies, of the Popes, the kings of England, &c. My memory now contained a very large mass of historical facts and ballad poetry, which I repeated with pleasure to myself, and the astonished approbation of the peasants around me. On the 26th May 1789, my father and his family left Kitterick, and came to herd in a place called Drigmorn, on Palkill burn, four miles above Minigaff. He was engaged by Mr. Ebenezer Wilson, now residing in Barncauchla. A prospect now opened of my attending Minigaff school. I set out by myself, and arrived in Minigaff village, where my friend, John Simpson, lived, and where Mr. Cramond, schoolmaster of Minigaff, dwelt. I think he lodged in Simpson's house. Mr. Cramond received me, and I travelled every day from Drigmorn to Minigaff. I read some English; but applied chiefly to writing and arithmetic. In the course of the summer I ran over all Dilworth's arithmetic. But I was not in stout health; the distance from school was great, and I generally attended only three days in the week. My teacher allowed this. I made the most of these days; I came about an hour before the school met, I pored on my arithmetic, in which I am still a proficient, and I regularly opened and read all the English books, such as the Spectator, World, &c. &c., brought by the children to school. I seldom joined in

any play at the usual hour, but read constantly. It occurred to me that I might get qualified for a merchant's clerk. I, therefore, cast a sharp look towards the method of book-keeping, and got some idea of its forms, by reading Hutton in the school, and by glancing at the books of other scholars. When the vacation came on I was obliged to quit school. At Martinmas 1789, I was engaged by three families in the moors of Kells and Minigaff to teach their children. I bought Mair's book-keeping, having sent to Edinburgh for it by a man who rode as *post* between Wigton and Edinburgh. The families, one of which belonged to my eldest brother, resided at great distances one from another. My brother lived in the Back-hill of Garrarie,—another family lived in Buchan, on Loch Trool,—a third on the Dee, near Garrarie. I migrated about, remaining six weeks in each family. Among these mountains I found several books,—Walker's Arithmetic,—a History of England,—a volume of Langhorne's Plutarch, having the Lives of Eumenes, Pompey, Scipio, &c.—and Burns' Poems,—all which I read with perpetual and close attention. I was fond of verse of all kinds. In 1787, before leaving Kitterick, I made a *scoffing ballad* on a neighbour shepherd and a girl of my acquaintance. This was my original sin as to verse. In 1789, the whole moorlands of Ayrshire and Galloway were engaged in discussing the doctrines of a book written by Dr. Macgill, one of the ministers of Ayr. I entered with much zeal and little knowledge into the feelings of the people, and declaimed against Socinianism and various religious opinions, which I certainly was not of age to understand.

“A little before Whitsunday 1790, I returned home to Drigmorn. My father had been engaged to herd in Barneuchla, a farm within two miles of Minigaff village, to which farm we removed on the 26th May 1790. I had now easy access to school, and went regularly. As I now understood reading, writing, and accounts, in imitation of other lads in the country, I wished to add to these a little French. These were the sum total of qualifications deemed necessary for a clerk intending to go to the West Indies or America.

I had, in 1787 and 1788, often admired and mused on the specimens of the Lord's Prayer in every language found in Salmon's grammar. I had read in the magazines and Spectator that Homer, Virgil, Milton, Shakespeare, and Newton, were the greatest of mankind. I had been early informed that Hebrew was the first language, by some *elders* and good religious people. In 1789, at Drigmorn, an old woman who lived near, showed me her Psalm book, which was printed with a large type, had notes on each page, and likewise what I discovered to be the Hebrew alphabet, marked letter after letter in the 119 Psalm. I took a copy of these letters, by *printing* them off in my old way, and kept them.

I borrowed from one Jack M'Bride at Bridgend of Cree, Chambaud's Rudiments of French Grammar. About the 30th of May 1790, I set to work on it. My indulgent master gave me whole pages of lessons, and in less than a fortnight I began to read lessons on the second volume of the *Diable Boiteux*, a book which he gave me. Robert Kerr, a son of William Kerr in Risque, was my friend and companion. He, in preparation for Grenada, whither he soon went, had for some time read French. His grammar was Boyer's, and the book which he read on, an old French New Testament. There was another grammar in the school read by Robert Cooper, son of Mr. Cooper, late tenant in Clarie. In the middle of the days I sat in the school and compared the nouns, verbs, &c. in all these books; and as I knew much of the New Testament by memory, I was able to explain whole pages of the French to Kerr, who was not diligent in study. About the 15th of June, Kerr told me that he had once *learned* Latin for a fortnight, but had not liked it, and still had "the Rudiments" beside him. I said, "Do lend me them; I wish to see what the nouns and verbs are like, and whether they resemble our French." He gave me the book, I examined it for four or five days, and found that the nouns had changes on the last syllables, and looked very singular. I used to repeat a lesson from the French Rudiments every forenoon in school. On the morning of the mid-summer fair of Newton-Stewart, I

set out for school, and accidentally put into my pocket the Latin grammar instead of the thin French rudiments. On an ordinary day Mr. Cramond would have chid me for this, but on that festive morning he was *mellow* and in excellent spirits—a state not good for a teacher, but always desired in him by me, for he was then very communicative. With great glee he replied, when I told him my mistake, and showed the Rudiments, “Gad, Sandy, I shall try thee with Latin,” and accordingly read over to me no less than two of the declensions. It was his custom with me to permit me to get as long lessons as I pleased, and never to fetter me by joining me to a class. There was at that time in the school a class of four boys advanced as far as the pronouns in Latin grammar. They ridiculed my separated condition. But before the vacation in August, I had reached the end of the rudiments, knew a good deal more than they, by reading at home the notes on the foot of each page, and was so greatly improved in French that I could read almost any French book at opening of it. I compared French and Latin, and rivetted the words of both in my memory by this practice. When proceeding with the Latin verbs, I often sat in the school all mid-day, and pored on the first pages of Robert Cooper’s Greek grammar, the only one I had ever seen. He was then reading Livy, and learning Greek. By help of his book I mastered the letters, but I saw the sense of the Latin rules in a very indistinct manner. Some boy lent me an old Corderius, and a friend made me a present of Eutropius. I got a common vocabulary from my companion Kerr. I read to my teacher a number of Colloquies; and before the end of July was permitted to take lessons in Eutropius. There was a copy of Eutropius in the school that had a literal translation. I studied this last with great attention, and compared the English and Latin. When my lesson was prepared, I always made an excursion into the rest of every book, and my books were not like those of other school-boys, opened only in one place, and where the lesson lay. The school was dissolved in harvest. After the vacation, I returned to it a week or two to read Eu-

tropius. A few days before the vacation, I purchased from an old man, named William Shaw, a very bulky and aged edition of Ainsworth's Dictionary. This was an invaluable acquisition to me. It had all the Latin words, and the corresponding Greek and Hebrew, likewise a plan of ancient Rome, and a dictionary of proper names. I had it for eighteen pence, a very low price. With these books I went off about Martinmas to teach the children of Robert Kerr, tenant in Garlarg, English reading, writing, arithmetic, and *Latin*. In his house I found several more books,—Ruddiman's Grammar, the most *obscure* of all works that ever were offered to children for their instruction, a book on which I laboured much to no great purpose,—Cæsar and Ovid. I employed every moment in pondering over these books. I literally read the dictionary throughout. My method was to revolve the leaves of the letter A, to notice all the principal words, and their Greek synonymes, not omitting a glance at the Hebrew: to do the same by B, and so on through the book. I then returned from X and Z to A, and in these winter months I amassed a large stock of Latin and Greek vocables. From this exercise I took to Eutropius, Ovid, and Cæsar, or at times to Ruddiman's Grammar. The inverted order often perplexed me, and I frequently mistook, but also frequently discerned the sense. The wild fictions of Ovid have had charms for me ever since. I was not a judge of simple and elegant composition, but when any passage contained wild, sublime, pathetic, or singular expressions, I both felt and tenaciously remembered them. Here I got another book, which, from that time, has influenced and inflamed my imagination. This was "Paradise Lost," of which I had heard, and which I was eager to see. It was lent me by Jean Macmillan, at present residing in Minigaff village, then housekeeper in Garlarg, and afterwards married to Robert Murray, my brother's son. I cannot describe to you the ardour or various feelings with which I read, studied, and admired this *first-rate* work. I found it as difficult to understand as *Latin*, and soon saw that it required to be *parsed* like that language. I had the

use of this copy for a year, and replaced it with one of my own. I account my first acquaintance with *Paradise Lost* an era in my reading.

“About Whitsunday 1791, I returned to school, able to read Eutropius, Ovid, Cæsar, and Ruddiman’s Grammar, in an intelligent, but not very correct style. I certainly knew a great deal of words and matters, but my prosody was bad, and my English not fluent nor elegant. I found the young class reading Ovid and Cæsar, and afterwards Virgil. I laughed at the difficulty with which they prepared their lessons, and often obliged them, by reading them over, to assist the work of preparation. My kind master never proposed that I should join them. He knew, indeed, that my time at school was uncertain; and he not only remitted a great part of my fees, but allowed me to read any book which I pleased. I studied his humour, and listened to his stories about his college life, in the University of Aberdeen, where he had been regularly bred, and where he had been the class-fellow of Dr. Beattie.

“I found my school-fellow Robert Cooper reading Livy, the Greek Grammar, and the Greek New Testament. A few days before going to school this season, I had formed an acquaintance with John Hunter, a miner under Mr. George Mure, and who lived in the High-Row of the Miners’ Village, at Mr. Heron’s lead-mines.* This man and his family had come from Leadhills. He showed me many civilities, and gave me the use of the following books, that had belonged to a brother of his, then deceased: Luciani Dialogi, cum Tabula Cebetis, Greek and Latin; a Greek New Testament; Homer’s Iliad, Greek and Latin, in two small volumes; Buchanan’s *Historia Rerum Gest. Scoticarum*; and Buchanan’s *Opera Poetica*. The first portion of my wages had gone to Dumfries or Edinburgh, to buy Moor’s Greek Grammar

* “I was introduced to him by the late Mr. Robert Guthrie, my much lamented friend, whose family lived in the same Row. I knew Mr. Guthrie from 1787.”

and Schrevelii Lexicon. I got the Grammar, but I forget how I obtained the Lexicon. My master allowed me to pass over Caesar, Ovid, Virgil, and Sallust, of which last, however, I borrowed copies, and read them privately, or at times with the young class. Dr. George Mure was one of the young class, and my intimate friend. After I had read my own lessons, I almost always read along with him his lesson in Virgil and Sallust. But Mr. Cramond permitted me to read Livy along with Robert Cooper, and Buchanan's History by myself. Robert Cooper was indolent, and I was proud to see that I had overtaken him, and could repeat Greek Grammar, and read Greek in the New Testament, with more ease. He was given to *taw*, but I joined in no sports, but sat all day in the school. My amusement consisted in reading books of history and poetry, brought to school by the other scholars. At home I attacked Homer, and attempted to translate him by the help of the Latin translation. In June 1791, we were allowed to read a daily lesson in the first book and volume of the Iliad,* which we prepared in the school. But I kept the second volume at home, and pored on it, till I fairly became, in an incorrect way, master of the sense, and was delighted with it. I remember, that the fate of Hector and of Sarpedon affected me greatly. And no sensation was ever more lively, than what I felt on first reading the passage, which declares 'that Jupiter rained drops of blood on the ground, in honour of his son Sarpedon, who was to fall far from his country.' My practice was to lay down a new and difficult book, after it had wearied me; to take up another—then a third—and to resume this rotation frequently and laboriously. I always strove to seize the sense; but when I supposed that I had succeeded, I did not weary myself with analyzing *every* sentence. About that time I formed a sort of axiom, that *every* language must have a certain number of words, and that, in learning a language, the student is not

* "We had but one copy, mentioned above."

master of it till he have seen all these. I therefore always liked to turn over dictionaries, as well as to read authors.

“In July 1791, I found my Greek knowledge increase. I began to translate sentences into Greek, by help of certain phrases at the end of Schrevelius. And so far as I remember, I, during that summer or autumn, attempted to introduce myself to your notice, by letters in Greek and Latin. The Greek one was short, and no doubt very inaccurate likewise, but less exceptionable. From that time you began to give me the use of books, and good advices as to my future behaviour and studies, which in my situation were very desirable.* I had from you the loan of Longinus—the *Œdipus Tyrannus*, a volume of Cicero’s *Orations*, which I read with great delight—and some others. All that summer and harvest were devoted to hard and continued reading, which was not limited to words in Greek and Latin, but extended to the history and poetry in the several books. I carried Homer in my pocket abroad, and studied him with great diligence.

“I had long possessed the Hebrew letters, and knew the meanings of many words. I was now determined to learn that language. I sent for a Hebrew Grammar to Edinburgh, by the man who rode post. He brought me Robertson’s Grammar, and the first edition of that book, which contains the Arabic alphabet in the last leaf. Mr. Cramond, to whom I showed it, in September 1791, at the time when I received it, informed me, that he once was able to read Hebrew, but that he had now forgotten it entirely. I had for a long time known the alphabet; I found the Latin easy and intelligible; I soon mastered the *points*; and, in the course of a month, got into the whole system of Jewish Grammar. On an accidental visit to New-Galloway, I was told by John Heron, a cousin of mine, and

* “You must remember, that I waited on you frequently during the autumn 1791, and during the years 1792, 1793, and 1794. I was not sixteen years of age till October 1791. When I went to Edinburgh, I supposed and reported myself to be eighteen; but Dr. Baird’s error is venial, and easily accounted for.”

father to Robert Heron, author of several works, that he could give me a small old Lexicon, belonging to his son. This present was to me astonishingly agreeable. It contained, besides the words and their Latin interpretations, the book of Ruth in the original. When I came home, some person informed me, that a relation of Mr. Wilson's in Auchinleck, then living in Minigaff village, had in her possession a Hebrew Bible, the property of her brother, Mr. William Wilson, a dissenting clergyman in Ireland. She consented to let me have the use of it for several months. It was a small edition in several volumes, I forget from which press. I made good use of this loan; I read it throughout, and many passages and books of it, a number of times. At Martinmas 1791, Mr. William Douglas, in Dranadow, engaged me to teach his children. The fee was, I think, thirty-five or forty shillings. I devoted, as usual, every spare hour to study. French, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, occupied all my leisure time. I sometimes amused myself with *printing* songs and favourite pieces of poetry, in the following sort of character :

‘ Among the bonnie winding banks,
Whare Doon rins winpling clear,’ &c. &c.

“ A ballad written in this manner excited more admiration than it really merited, because few lads in the country could do it. I wrote this kind of hand with great celerity, but it is now *obsolete* with me.

“ I returned to school in summer 1792, and read Latin and Greek rather for practice than in a rudimental way. The fault of our teacher was a slovenly inattention to grammatical minutiae, which hurt my future appearance at college, and is more or less the evil of all country schools. In return for this, he was kind, familiar, and communicative. His foible was the love of drink. He had nobody to prepare a comfortable meal for him in his little way, and he went to the alehouse in order to avoid the wearisomeness and inattention which distressed him at home. You know he at length became unfit for any public situation. Yet, had I been placed under a more formal and

regular master, I should never have been able to make a respectable progress. For the broken state of my time would have condemned me to wait on children in low and young classes, in order to get by memory every part of the Rudiments. And every absent winter, and inaccuracy in reading, would have been pretexts for *beginning me* anew in the Rudiments and Grammar. All the accurate men have this way of thinking. Mr. Dalzel, the professor of Greek, rebuked me severely for looking into Plato and Aristophanes in my first year at college. I received his admonitions, but still persisted in reading these writers. Desultory study is no doubt a bad thing, but a lad whose ambition never ceases, but stimulates him incessantly, enlarges his mind and range of thought by excursions beyond the limits of regular forms.

“ In 1792, I read portions of Homer, Livy, Sallust, and any author used in the school. In the autumn 1792, my companion Cooper left the school, and went, I believe, to Glasgow university.* I could not imitate him for want of funds. In the winter 1792-3, I engaged myself with Thomas Birkmyre, miller of Minigaff Miln, and taught his children during that season till March 1793. My wages were only thirty shillings, but my object was to get a residence near Newton-Stewart, and to have liberty of going in the winter *forenights* to a school taught by Mr. Nathaniel Martin in Bridgend of Cree. Several young lads attended it with a view to *exercise themselves* in reading English poetry, and *in spending their hours agreeably*. Martin had been at Edinburgh, and possessed many new books, such as the Bee, Duncan’s Cicero, some of the best English Collections, and so forth. In the Miln, I got Gulliver’s Travels, and Clarke’s Evidences of Christianity. I did not understand the one, nor care much for the other. My companions at the nightly-school, were William Gifford, lately a writer’s first clerk in Edinburgh, one Thomas Baird, clerk to a tobacconist, John Mackilwraith, son-in-law to John M’Kie, lately merchant in Castle Douglas. John Mackilwraith was

* “ Or to Wigton school, I forget which.”

an old friend, for his father-in-law was tenant of Kitterick in 1788. From him I got the loan of Baillie's English Dictionary, which I studied, and learned from it a vast variety of useful matters. I gained from it the *Anglo-Saxon* alphabet, the *Anglo-Saxon* paternoster, and many words in that venerable dialect. This enabled me to read Hicke's *Saxon Grammar* without difficulty after I went into Edinburgh, and led the way to the *Visi-Gothic* and German. About the end of autumn 1792, I had procured from one Jack Roberts, a small Welsh history of Christ and the apostles. I had seen a translation, or rather the original English, of this book in former years, but I could not get access to it after I had the Welsh in my possession. I mused, however, a good deal on the quotations of Scripture that abound in it, and got acquainted with many Welsh words and sentences. If I had a copy of the Bible in any language of which I know the alphabet, I could make considerable progress in learning it without Grammar or Dictionary. This is done by minute observation and comparison of words, terminations, and phrases. It is the method dictated by necessity, in the absence of all assistance.

“ In 1791, I had the loan of a stray volume of the *Ancient Universal History* from my neighbour schoolfellows, the Maclurgs, who lived in Glenhoash, below Risque. It contained the history of the ancient Gauls, Germans, *Abyssinians*, and others. It included a very incorrect copy of the *Abyssinian* alphabet, which, however, I transcribed and kept by me for future occasions. I was completely master of the Arabic alphabet, by help of Robertson's *Grammar*, in the end of which (first edition) it is given in an accurate manner.

“ In the autumn of 1792, about the time I went to the Miln, I had, in the hour of ignorance and ambition, believed myself capable of writing an epic poem. For two years before, or rather from the time that I had met with *Paradise Lost*, sublime poetry was my favourite reading. Homer had encouraged this taste; and my schoolfellow, George Mure, had lent me, in 1791, an edition of *Ossian's Fingal*, which is in many pas-

sages a sublime and pathetic performance.* I copied Fingal, as the book was lent only for four days, and carried the MS. about with me. I chose Arthur, general of the Britons, for my hero, and during that winter 1792-3, wrote several thousand of blank verses about his achievements. This was my first attempt in blank verse. In 1790, I had purchased "the Grave," a poem by Blair, and committed it almost entirely to memory. In summer 1791, about the time that I intruded myself on your notice, I wrote two pieces in blank verse, one on Death, and another on some religious subject, and sent them to Dr. Boyd at Merton Hall. The Doctor expressed a wish to see me, and I went and waited on him. He was very kind to me, but did not seem to relish my poetry. Dr. John Hope, who was at the time on a medical visit to the Doctor, hinted to me, that in order to please him, it would be proper to court the Comic rather than the Tragic Muse on the next occasion.

"The poem of Arthur was, so far as I remember, a very noisy, bombastic, wild, and incorrect performance. It was not without obligations to Ossian, Milton, and Homer. But I had completed the *Seventh Book* before I discerned that my predecessors were far superior to me in every thing. The beauties of the first books of *Paradise Lost* overwhelmed me; and I began to flag in the *executive department*. My companions, young and ignorant like myself, applauded my verses; but I perceived that they were mistaken, for my rule of judgment proceeded from *comparison* in another school of criticism. In March 1793, I left the Miln, and went to a place called Suie, on the very limits of Minigaff, and a mile or two above Glencard. I was employed there to teach writing and arithmetic to one Alexander Hislop, formerly a travelling *merchant*, an old acquaintance and a warm friend. Here I got Pope's Homer, which indeed I had seen before, but had not read. In the end of March, one James M'Harg, son of a small farmer in the Moss of Cree, who had been at Glasgow for half a year

* I had read *Telemaque*. Miss Ravenscroft Dunbar, then at school, had a very rare and curious edition of it, which I have never met with in Edinburgh.

in some manufacturing house, came to Suic, on his return from Glasgow. I shewed him the epic poem. He was transported with it, and declared that it was the most wonderful piece in the universe. This was not my first introduction to him. I knew him in 1789 at Minigaff school, and visited him now and then while he lived as a merchant in Dashwood, (Newton-Stewart). He had formerly lent me Milton with notes, and the first volume of Pope's works. I told him that I did not think the *epic poem* well done, and that I meant to destroy it, and take to smaller pieces. He was an enthusiast in Scotch verse, and had written many comic poems in the manner of Burns, some of them far from contemptible. His heart was very warm, but, like most poets, he was indolent in business, and generally unsuccessful in his affairs. I returned home in May 1793, but did not go to school. Indeed my business there was completed. The whole periods of my school-education stand as follows:—1. From Whitsunday, 26th May, to the middle of August 1784, at New-Galloway school, adding a fortnight in the end of October and beginning of November same year. 2. About six weeks of time spent at Minigaff in summer 1789. 3. From Whitsunday to vacation time, and a fortnight after vacation 1790. 4. From Whitsunday to vacation time 1791. 5. From Whitsunday to vacation, and a fortnight after, 1792.

“ I passed the summer 1793 at home, and in long visits to my friends in Newton-Stewart, and other parts. I used to live *weeks* with James M'Harg, and to write in company with him ridiculous burlesque poems on any subject that struck our fancy. Newton-Stewart, at that time, read with great interest Tom Paine's works, in which M'Harg and I did not feel ourselves much concerned. We both liked *liberty*; but I remember, that the death of the king of France, which I read in January 1793, in a newspaper, almost made me cry; and I hated Marat and Robespierre. M'Harg had a practice of preying on the credulity of ignorant people who were not able to read, but were keen Jacobins. He told them a world of lies about the success of the French, &c. &c. which they with great

and absurd joy communicated to their neighbours. We both did a little too much in this wicked way, for we thought these people below par in sense. During that summer I destroyed Arthur and his Britons, and began to translate from Buchanan's poetical works his *Fratres Franciscani*. I made an attempt to obtain Mochrum school, but Mr. Steven, minister of that parish, who received me very kindly, told me that it was promised, and that my youth would be objected to by the heritors and parish.

“ Some time in summer 1793, I formed an acquaintance with William Hume, a young lad who intended to become an Antiburgher clergyman, and who kept a private school in Newton-Stewart. About the same time you introduced me to several members of the presbytery of Wigton. My friendship with Mr. Hume procured me the loan of several new books. I paid a visit to Mr. Donnan in Wigton, an excellent man and scholar. He examined me on Homer, which I read *ad aper-turam libri*, in a very tolerable, though not very correct manner. He gave me Cicero *de Naturâ Deorum*, which I studied with great ardour, though a speculative treatise. I was enthusiastically fond of Cicero, as my dictionary gave me a most affecting account of the merits and fate of that great man. In 1791, I bought for a trifle a MS. volume of the lectures of Arnold Drackenburg, a German professor, on the lives and writings of the Roman authors, from Livius Andronicus to Quinctilian. This was a learned work, and I resolved to *translate* and publish it. I remained at home during the winter of 1793-4, and employed myself in that task. My translation was neither elegant nor correct. My taste was improving; but a knowledge of elegant phraseology and correct diction cannot be acquired without some acquaintance with the world, and with the human character in its polished state. The most obscure and uninteresting parts of the Spectator, World, Guardian, and Pope's Works, were those that described life and manners. The parts of these works which I then read with rapture, were accounts of tragic occurrences, of great, but unfortunate men, and poetry that addressed the

passions. In spring 1794, I got a reading of Blair's Lectures. The book was lent by Mr. Strang, a Relief clergyman, to William Hume, and *sublent* to me. In 1793 I had seen a volume of an Encyclopædia, but found very considerable difficulties in making out the sense of obscure scientific terms, with which those books abound.

“ Early in 1794 I resolved to go to Dumfries, and present my translation to the booksellers there. As I had doubts respecting the success of a History of the Latin Writers, I likewise composed a number of poems, chiefly in the Scottish dialect, and most of them very indifferent. I went to Dumfries in June 1794, and found that neither of the two booksellers there would undertake to publish my translation; but I got a number of subscription-papers printed, in order to promote the publication of the poems. I collected by myself and friends four or five hundred subscriptions. At Gatehouse, a merchant there, an old friend, gave me a very curious and large-printed copy of the Pentateuch, which had belonged to the celebrated Andrew Melvin, and the Hebrew Dictionary of Pagninus, a huge folio. During the visit to Dumfries I was introduced to Robert Burns, who treated me with great kindness; told me that if I could get out to college without publishing my poems it would be better, as my taste was young and not formed, and I would be ashamed of my productions when I could write and judge better. I understood this, and resolved to make *publication* my last resource. In Dumfries I bought six or seven plays of Shakespeare, and never read any thing, except Milton, with more rapture and enthusiasm. I had seen *his poems* before.

“ During this summer, my friend M'Harg was in Edinburgh, employed as a hawker, or itinerant dealer in tea, &c. He described my situation to James Kinnear, a journeyman printer, a very respectable man, who informed him, that if I could be brought into town, Dr. Baird and several other gentlemen would take notice of me. I communicated this to you,—you countenanced the measure, and, in consequence, I arrived in Edinburgh in the beginning of November 1794.

“ My dear Sir,—I have exhausted the paper with a wearisome detail of trifles, and have not room to *subscribe* myself,

“ Your very faithful and grateful servant,

“ ALEXR. MURRAY.”

Such is Dr. Murray's singular narrative, on which any comment would but weaken the impression which it is calculated to convey. On his arrival in Edinburgh, we proceed to state, he was kindly received by Mr. Kinnear. The only letter of introduction which he brought to town, was one from Mr. Maitland to Dr. Baird; who received him with great kindness. Too much praise cannot be paid to these two gentlemen for their generous conduct, particularly as they were strangers to each other, and were actuated solely by the motive of bringing into notice indigent merit, and opening to a young man of extraordinary promise a wider field for the cultivation of his genius and talents. Nor was Murray unworthy of the patronage of these respectable individuals. On the first day after his arrival in town, he underwent an examination in presence of Dr. Baird, Dr. Finlayson, and Dr. Moodie; and, to use the language of one of his examiners, “ he read, *ad aperturam libri*, and also explained and analyzed accurately a passage of French, an ode of Horace, a page of Homer, and a Hebrew psalm.” In consequence of his uncommon acquirements, not only the direct advantages of the college were procured to him without expense, but such pecuniary aid was extended to him as was necessary for the effectual prosecution of his studies. At the end of two years he obtained a bursary from the town; and about that time he began to support himself by carrying on private teaching. Dr. Baird continued through life his faithful friend and patron. “ I was under his immediate care,” says Dr. Murray, in a letter to Mr. Maitland, “ from 1794 to 1796 or 1797, when I began to support myself. In fact, I was always under his counsel and directions, and saw him as frequently as was suitable, from 1794 to 1806.”

Dr. Murray's views were directed to our national church; and, while he was following that course of study prescribed to

candidates for the sacred office, he was, at the same time, devoting every leisure moment to the silent prosecution of his favourite studies. No language to which he had access escaped his investigation. He not only made himself acquainted with all the dialects of Europe, ancient as well as modern, but his researches penetrated also into the languages of the East. At a subsequent period of life he made himself master of the Sanskrita, the ancient dialect of India, and arrived at no slight proficiency in the study of the Chinese itself. Of the exact extent of his acquaintance with the latter of these tongues we have no certain proof; but with regard to the former, the following extract from a letter written to Dr. Baird, contains satisfactory information:—

“ The publication of Dr. Wilkins’ Sanskrita Grammar did me material service, though I got his book only in May 1809. Before that time I had limited my views to an examination of the European dialects. I understood Hindostanee and Persic, and was able to confirm the opinion of Sir William Jones as to the ancient affinity of the Greek, Teutonic, Persic, and Sanskrit. But although I knew the alphabet, and had some specimens of the Sanskrita, I could not explain any passage of it. I received this book with the pleasure felt in gratifying a favourite passion; and I am now happy in being able to identify the languages of the Edda and the Vedas. It will amuse you to hear that Oeda, in Islandic, and Veda, in Sanskrit, are not only in the main the same word, but that they are actually the same as our own term wit, or wita, which, as you know, in old times signified *knowledge*. By means of the Sanskrit I have detected the ancient form of many Persic words, and the history of the several parts of the verb. I have ascertained the identity of the Sarmatee and Slavi, and traced their affinity with the Medes; of course, I have made the tour of Asia and Europe, and I hope with some advantage to a study which is rather too much despised, but which occupies a considerable portion of the time of every man who reads foreign or ancient books.”

His attention, as this extract shows, was not confined to

words merely, or satisfied with the bare capacity of translating the several dialects which formed the object of his inquiries. He studied antiquities, and the philosophy of grammar. He was aware that it is impossible to investigate the filiation of any one language, without a competent knowledge of those which are either historically or geographically connected with it. By researches conducted into the ancient languages of Europe, he discovered the source and basis of all the modern dialects of that quarter of the globe; and was thus enabled to ascertain the origin and early history of the several people that inhabit Europe, and the affinity that obtains among them. "I have been gratified," says Dr. Murray, "to find what has often been vaguely asserted, that the Greek and Latin are only dialects of a language much more simple, elegant, and ancient, which forms the basis of almost all the tongues of Europe, and, as I hope to demonstrate on some future occasion, of Sanskrit itself."

While he was thus dedicating every hour he could command to study and research, he was not known beyond the circle of a few select friends; of whom the most eminent was Dr. Leyden, a man of exactly the same age, and of congeniality of mind and pursuits. "Murray," says the Rev. Mr. Morton, "once observed to Dr. Anderson, that there was nobody in Edinburgh whom he should be so much afraid to contend with in languages and philology as Leyden; and it is remarkable that the latter, without knowing this, once expressed himself to the same person in the same terms in commendation of Murray's learning."* Leyden closed "his bright and brief career" in the island of Java, in August 1811. Lamented as he was by all who take any interest in the fate of genius, he was regretted by none more deeply than by his friend, to whose memory these pages are dedicated. The following extract relative to this melancholy event, from a letter written by Dr. Murray to Dr. Anderson, does equal honour to the memory of both:—"Our indefatigable and invaluable friend, than whose a more ardent spirit never comprehended

* *Poetical Remains of Dr. Leyden, by the Rev. James Morton, p. 17.*

whatever is vast, nor surmounted whatever is difficult in literary pursuit, has prematurely closed his brilliant day, and is gone ! When recently engaged in researches into the several affinities of certain languages in which he was extremely conversant, I felt an anticipation of pleasure from the thought that my inquiries would in due time come under his eye, and undergo the friendly correction of his learned judgment. Alas ! this expectation was utterly vain, for the possibility of its being accomplished was already past."

Dr. Murray, soon after his arrival in town, supported himself, as has been previously hinted, as a private teacher of languages. But he at length obtained a more congenial species of employment. He had long been an occasional writer in *The Scots Magazine* ; and acted, at length, for some time, as editor of that work. He contributed also several able articles to the *Edinburgh Review*. In his youth, as we have already seen, he had attained some knowledge of the Abyssinian. The study of this language, on his coming to college, he prosecuted with the happiest success, by the help of Ludolph's Dictionary and the Polyglot Bible. He made himself completely master of the Geez or Tygrè, and the Amharic, the two dialects of which the Abyssinian consists, as also of the dialects spoken by the subjects and neighbours of the Abyssinian monarchy. With these rare attainments, he was engaged, by Mr. Constable, as editor of a new impression of Bruce's *Travels to Discover the Source of the Nile*. This undertaking he commenced in the month of September 1802, and it was continued with unremitting application for nearly three years ; for the work did not appear until the month of July 1805. The time he was employed in preparing it, he resided chiefly at Kinnaird House, where he had access to the papers and MSS. which Mr. Bruce had collected or composed. To this production, which consists of seven large octavo volumes, he prefixed a Life of the author, and contributed notes and an appendix, containing the most curious and learned discussions on philology, antiquities, and a manifold variety of subjects illustrative of Bruce's narrative. The Life of the traveller, considerably

enlarged and improved, he published separately in one volume quarto, extending to 504 pages; to which is added an appendix, consisting of selections from Bruce's correspondence, an account of his various MSS. and other cognate illustrations.

Dr. Murray had meanwhile been licensed a preacher of the gospel; but had no prospect of obtaining a living in the church. Having been employed, however, to give private lessons to the late William Douglas of Orchardton, that gentleman, himself a man of genius, took an interest in his views in this respect; and having understood that the Rev. Dr. James Muirhead, minister of Urr, wished to have a helper and successor appointed to him in that charge, recommended his learned tutor as a fit person for that situation. Murray having been accordingly introduced to that clergyman, and several other friends, among whom we cannot resist mentioning William Muirhead Herries of Spottes,* son of Dr. Muirhead, he was, much to the satisfaction of the people, appointed to this charge in 1806.

Dr. Muirhead, descended of a family that had been settled in Galloway so early as 1517, was born at Logan (of which his father was proprietor,) in 1742. He commenced the study of law, but soon abandoned it for theology. He was settled in Urr in 1769. He was a man of learning and talents: mathematics was at one time his favourite study. He was given to wit and punning, but was possessed of too much politeness and benevolence to wound by these the feelings of any one. He was, moreover, a poet, and is advantageously known as the author of an excellent song, entitled *Bess the Gawkie*. He died in 1808, two years after Dr. Murray had been appointed his colleague.†

* *Appendix, Note H.*

† Allan Cunningham, in his *Songs of Scotland*, a useless work, which deservedly fell dead from the press, ignorantly terms this clergyman "the Rev. William Morehead," instead of the Rev. Dr. James Muirhead! The same author converts the surname of Nathaniel M'Kie of Crossmichael into "Mackay." His work, indeed, is full of blunders, though it were well for his character if mere blunders constituted its only fault. For an eminent instance of his modesty and veracity, consult the *Life of Lowe* in this volume.

Dr. Murray, on his first going to Urr, resided, till the death of Dr. Muirhead, in the house of his maternal uncle Mr. William Cochrane, a respectable farmer; and soon became acquainted with the neighbouring family of Mr. James Afleck, in Grange. Henrietta Afleck soon became the object of his attachment. His addresses were not unwelcome; and their marriage took place on Friday the 9th of December 1808.

In 1808, he published *The Life of James Bruce*, of which we have formerly spoken. This work, with the edition of Bruce's *Travels*, had so established his character as a linguist, and particularly as acquainted with the Abyssinian language, that, in 1811, at the suggestion of the late Mr. Henry Salt, envoy to that country, he was applied to, to use Mr. Salt's own words, "as the only person in the British dominions" adequate to the task, to translate a letter written in Geez, from the governor of Tygrè to our king. Though, as Dr. Murray himself states, some passages in the original were a little obscure, he performed the task in the most satisfactory manner.

He continued faithfully to perform his clerical duties, and was unwearied in his literary pursuits, till an event took place which altered his prospects in life. In June 1812 the chair of Oriental languages in the university of Edinburgh became vacant by the death of Dr. Moodie. For this situation Dr. Murray was proposed a candidate by his friends in town, ere an account of the vacancy had reached him in the country; and he afterwards himself solicited the support of the patrons of the university to obtain the vacant office. Three other respectable candidates appeared in the field.* The subject of this memoir, however, after a very keen contest, was elected by a majority of two voices. Had Dr. Murray died in the remote parish of Urr, to use an expression of the late Professor Christison, "the patrons of learning in Scotland might regret that he was not promoted; but such regret would not repair the loss."

* These were Dr. Alexander Brunton, (the present learned Professor,) Dr. David Dickson, and Dr. David Scot. For an account of this election, see *Scots Magazine for April 1812*.

In consequence of this appointment, he removed to Edinburgh in the month of November 1812. He left his family behind him in Urr, as he did not mean, till after the subsequent summer, which he expected to spend in the country, to reside permanently in town. Before he commenced his class, he published, for their use, *Outlines of Oriental Philology*,—a small work which he had composed many years before this date, and which is regarded as containing a remarkably simple, and, in many respects, an original epitome of the grammatical principles of the Hebrew and its cognate dialects. His class was composed not only of theological students, who are all, from the course of study prescribed them by the laws of our church, obliged to be acquainted with the Hebrew language, but of many aged and literary gentlemen, whose attendance could only be gained and secured by such an illustrious professor.

But Dr. Murray was not doomed long to enjoy his new situation. His constitution was not naturally athletic. He had long been threatened with complaints of a pulmonary nature. Previously to his coming to Edinburgh, he had been for two winters so afflicted with a violent cough, accompanied with debility and slight fever, that for several successive weeks, he had been unable to discharge his public duties. In February 1813, this fatal complaint having, in consequence of his great exertions in preparing his academical lectures, (all of which he composed after his arrival in town,) settled upon him more severely than usual, he was prevented from attending his class; and it was evident to all, that his life was in imminent danger. He himself entertained hopes of his recovery, and was flattering himself with the prospect of being able to remove to the country; but his complaints daily assumed a more alarming aspect. On the day before his death, he was out of bed for twelve hours. He arranged several of his papers, spoke freshly, and appeared in good spirits. He alluded to his approaching dissolution, which he now himself began to apprehend; but Mrs. Murray, (who had come to town in the preceding evening,) was too agitated to admit of the subject

being minutely adverted to. He retired to bed at eleven o'clock ; he dozed a little ; and every moment he was awake, he spent in prayer. In the true spirit of genius, he said that he had once expected to attain to old age, and that he would be enabled to perform something of a more eminent nature, and of greater importance to society, than he had yet accomplished ; but not a murmur escaped his lips ; he was, at all times, perfectly resigned to the will of the Eternal. The following verse of the hundred and eighteenth psalm he repeated a few hours before his death :

O set ye open unto me
The gates of righteousness ;
Then will I enter into them,
And I the Lord will bless.

At the end of these lines he made a pause, and Mrs. Murray having proceeded with the subsequent verse,

This is the gate of God, by it
The just shall enter in ;
Thee will I praise, for thou me heardst,
And hast my safety been,

he looked wistfully and tenderly in her countenance,—he put his hand on his breast,—and said it gave him relief and consolation. He now became suddenly worse,—his speech failed him,—and having lingered in this state for a short time, he breathed his last in the arms of his wife. This melancholy event took place at a quarter past six o'clock on the morning of Thursday the 15th of April 1813, in the thirty-seventh year of his age. The last words he was heard to utter were, “ Take clear burial ground,” meaning, no doubt, to intimate his desire that his remains might be placed in a grave which had not been previously occupied.

His body was interred in the Greyfriars' church-yard, upon the north-west corner of the church, close to the wall of it. His funeral was attended by the Magistrates of the city, by the Professors of the University in their robes, by the Theological Society, of which he had been a member, and by

some private literary friends. There is not a stone to point out where his remains are repositèd.

His stature was rather below the middle size. He bent a little in his gait ; and when he walked, generally kept his left hand upon his breast, a habit originating, it is probable, in his pectoral complaints. The colour of his hair was black ; of his eyes, which were sharp and sparkling, a beautiful hazel brown. On the right side of his face was a large mark of a pretty dark hue, extending upwards fully three inches, from a line drawn, as it were, from the lower extremity of the nose and ear. He constantly wore spectacles. His dress was neat and becoming.

His character, in every point of view, is deserving of praise. Born in a humble station, his advancement in life was owing not less to the strictest propriety of conduct, than to the splendour of his talents. As a companion and a friend, he was frank, constant, unsuspecting, and affectionate. In the company of his intimate associates, he was playful and humorous, and had always at command a variety of witty and amusing anecdotes, which he introduced with propriety, and told with spirit and animation. His temper was rather irritable. Of pedantry and ostentation he was perfectly devoid. As a clergyman he was faithful and laborious, and much esteemed by his people. His pulpit discourses were striking and edifying.

He left behind him in manuscript a learned work ; which, under the auspices of the late Sir Henry Moncreiff, was published in two volumes in 1823. Of this work, entitled *History of the European Languages ; or, Researches into the Affinities of the Teutonic, Greek, Celtic, Slavonic, and Indian Nations*, Dr. Scot was the editor ; and to it is prefixed a *Life of the Author*, written by Sir Henry Moncreiff. This undertaking is evidently no mean one. Dr. Murray in conducting it endeavours to prove, as the result of his researches, that the languages of Europe can be traced to a single dialect ; and that this dialect consisted of a few monosyllables, nine in number, some of which may be considered a variation of the other. Of these he thinks that *ag* and *wag* were probably the first articulate sounds. “ We do not say,” to use the words of

his learned editor, "that Dr. Murray's system may not afford room for discussion; but if it is not demonstrated truth, it looks very like it. In support of his account of the rise of the European languages, he has resorted to the inductive method of reasoning; and the reader will have cause to admire his ingenuity of analysis, if he cannot always subscribe to his conclusions." "Dr. Murray," to quote again from Dr. Scot's preface, "does not form a theory, and then look about for arguments to support it. But he was led to the conclusions, detailed in this work, by his attempt to analyze the words of which the European languages consist."

He left behind him a widow with two children, a daughter and a son. The former, Agnes, fell a victim to consumption in 1821; the latter, James, has recently finished his academical studies as a surgeon. Mrs. Murray died also of consumption in April 1824. On her husband's death, government granted her an annual pension of L.80.

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The Rev. JAMES M'RAY or M'CRÆ,* was born at Knockreoch, in the parish of Kells in 1746. His parents were Thomas M'Cræ and Jean Robb. His father rented a part of the farm of Knockreoch. He afterwards possessed the farm of Woodhead in the parish of Carsphairn, which he held for thirty years previously to his death. James M'Ray was the youngest of five children. He attended the parish school of Carsphairn, then taught by Mr. M'Kay, an able classical scholar. He studied at the university of Edinburgh; and

* The subject of this sketch did not ultimately spell his name in either of these ways; but thus,—James M. Ray.

To Mr. Thomas M'Gill, Damcroft, parish of Kells, nephew of Mr. M'Ray, I am indebted for the materials of which this sketch is composed. To Mr. Gordon Barbour, author of various ingenious works, and to my much respected friend Mr. William Andrew, I lie under obligations, both in regard to this article and to the life of Mr. Anthony Macmillan.

having become a preacher, was ordained in 1775, by the Presbytery of the North West of England, minister of a chapel in Maryport. How long he continued in this situation is not known; but, as on leaving it, he got from the heads of families belonging to his congregation, a testimonial expressive of their approbation of his labours, it is evident that these had not been entirely unsuccessful. Bad health having been the cause of his resigning his charge in Maryport, he returned to the Glenskens, and continued an invalid, for several years, under his father's roof, at Woodhead. His health having at length been restored, he was employed as assistant to the Rev. John M'Naught, minister of Buittle, on whose death, in 1792, he removed to Edinburgh, and gained employment in that city as a teacher of Hebrew.

The most important event of Mr. M'Ray's life was his introduction to the acquaintance of the late Mr. James Gillespie, a gentleman, who, as a tobacconist, realized a large fortune, and founded an hospital and school, (which bear his name), in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Mr. M'Ray lived in Mr. Gillespie's house as his chaplain and companion; and in company with him, he made the tour of Europe; and I have reason to think that they also visited America. Mr. M'Ray himself, at least, had been in the New World, where he delivered what he terms "a course of philosophical-medical lectures," and where one of his numerous publications was first given to the world. The subject of this sketch was nominated by Mr. Gillespie chaplain of his hospital; an appointment which was to be permanent. On its institution in 1801, he accordingly removed to it, and entered on his official duties. These he continued to discharge about twelve years; but some misunderstanding having, I believe, arisen between him and the governors of the hospital, he was induced to resign his situation on condition of a certain annuity (£50) being guaranteed to him for life. He now removed to Glasgow, where he carried on his favourite studies till his death, which took place in November 1816.

Some of the most important events of his life remain yet to be told. He had early become distinguished for his know-

ledge of Hebrew, and its cognate dialects, and for his biblical learning. Soon after his settlement in Maryport, he published a small work entitled *The Hebrew Instructor*. In 1730 *The Design of Creation; a Dissertation on the chief end and chief good of Man* appeared; a small volume containing 63 pages. He was the author of a pamphlet still smaller, but without a date, on *The Philosophy of the Languages of Men, Beasts, Birds, &c.* and on innumerable other subjects, such as *The Theories of the Origin of the Universe; the Properties of Matter and Spirit; the Nature, Causes, and Kinds of Dreaming*. When in America, he published *Synopsis, or a comprehensive View of Philosophical, Political, and Theological Systems, from the Creation to the Present Time*; a volume extending to 320 octavo pages. In 1805, he gave to the world *A View of the Old and New Way of Doctrines, Discipline and Government in the Church of Christ*. These works, and others which he printed of a similar tendency, display learning and extensive reading; but are characterised by no powers of thought or arrangement, and no correctness of taste, containing masses of matter capriciously huddled together. He announced as preparing for publication various treatises which never appeared.

But his greatest work, and that by which alone he is known, is *A Revised Translation and Interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures, after the Eastern Manner, from the concurrent authorities of the Critics, Interpreters, and Commentators, Copies and Versions*. This publication first appeared in London in an octavo form in 1799. Another impression, in quarto, issued from the Glasgow press in 1815, the year before his death. This edition contains extensive miscellaneous notes and illustrations appended to each chapter, not given in the former impression. He regarded the Bible as the worst translated work extant, and quite unintelligible in many important places, without the aid of commentators; an advantage which the greater portion of the people cannot be expected to command. This difficulty, it was the object of the author of this translation to obviate. But his judgment, whatever was his learning, was not equal to the purity of his motives, or the utility of his

design. He is, so far as I have traced, quite orthodox in his views; but he makes very short work with the difficulties of Scripture; (such as Jephtha's oblation, the witch of Endor, the Song of Solomon,) and his version is in innumerable instances rather an arbitrary paraphrase than a translation or interpretation. Of this work the following is a most favourable specimen. Ecclesiastes xii. 1—7.

“Remember thy Creator in the days of thy youth, before the days of affliction come, and the years *of old age* approach, when thou shalt say, I have no pleasure in them. 2. Before the sun, and the light, and the moon, and the stars become dark *to thee*, and the clouds return after rain, *or one trouble come upon another*: 3. When (the arms) the keepers of the (corporeal) house shall shake, and the strong ones (the limbs) be feeble, and (the teeth) the grinders shall cease, as being few, (and unfit for use); and they that look out at the windows (the optic nerves of the eyes) become dim; 4. And the doors be shut in the streets, (the lips fall in, the teeth being gone,) and the sound of the grinding (in eating) be low; and they shall rise up at the sound of the bird, (sleep being diminished and easily broken,) and all the daughters of music (the accents of the voice, and acuteness of the ear,) fail: 5. They shall also be afraid of (ascending) the place which is high, (being weak and breathless); and fears (of stumbling) shall be in the way; and (gray hairs like) the almond-tree's leaves shall flourish; and the grasshopper shall be a burden, (small matters being troublesome, as being crooked and fretful); and the desire of enjoyment shall fail; for man goeth to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets. 6. Before the silver cord (the marrow of the back-bone, with its root and branches) be contracted; or the golden vial (the brain's membranes) be cracked; or the pitcher be broken at the fountain, (the cavities and conveyers of the blood from the heart,) or the wheel be broken at the cistern, (the returners of it from the lungs, liver, head, hands, and feet; the double, yea, quadruple circulation (galal and ruts) being repeated, be interrupted and cease, 3 Kings iv. 33.)”

There was another object, which he reckoned of unspeakable importance, that his version was designed to accomplish, namely, to shew that “ the Inspired Writings contain the seeds of the valuable sciences, being the source whence the ancient philosophers derived them, also the most ancient histories and greatest antiquities ; and are the most entertaining as well as instructive to both the curious and serious.” This opinion, whether fanciful or not, was one of his favourite speculations.

Nor did he inculcate his opinions merely in his published writings. We have already mentioned that he had given public lectures in America. He did so also in Scotland. The subjects of his lectures seem to have been multifarious. At one time he prelected on Biblical criticism ; and I have been informed by a competent judge, who was one of his hearers, that in these compositions he displayed no ordinary degree of learning and talent.

He was a man of primitive simplicity, both in appearance and habits. He continued till his death to use the same fashion of dress that prevailed in his youth. A very small income was sufficient to supply all his wants. Luxury and effeminacy of all kinds he held in utter detestation. He was an incessant talker ; and his subjects of conversation were generally connected with his Biblical studies or his peculiar views. His speech was extravagant. During the French revolution he had been a great Jacobin ; and his political creed belonged to that party that has since been denominated radical. But notwithstanding his many eccentricities, he was a good and learned man, of pious and literary habits, and is not known ever to have had a personal enemy.

CHAPTER XIX.

LIFE OF THE REV. JOHN JOHNSTONE. *See Appendix*

THE family, from which the Rev. JOHN JOHNSTONE was descended, had long been proprietors of a small estate lying within the royalty of Annan, county of Dumfries. They had held this property at least from the year 1661; and it is supposed that the individual, who was then in possession of it, was a cadet of the house of Milnfield, an ancient branch of the family of Johnstone.

Mr. Johnstone was the son of Mr. Alexander Johnstone, surgeon, Edinburgh, and Christian, daughter of Mr. Tod, merchant in Edinburgh, and one of the magistrates of that city, and was born on the 20th of February 1757. His father died at the early age of thirty-four, leaving a numerous family, the direction of whose education devolved chiefly on his eldest brother Dr. Bryce Johnstone, minister of Holywood. Speaking afterwards of the paternal uncle, under whose kind superintendence his youth had been spent, "He was," says Mr. Johnstone, "the protector of my father's orphan house, and a willing instrument of our deliverance from penury and want. He was the faithful guardian of our helpless years, the director of my studies, and active in promoting my successful introduction into public life. His counsels in conversation and correspondence, his example and his prayers, were directed to excite me to act with credit to myself and usefulness to others."

Mr. Johnstone, though early deprived of his father, thus enjoyed advantages very uncommon in the circumstances under which his family was placed. He received his juvenile education in the High School; and in due time entered the University of Edinburgh. When a student at College, he became a member of the Speculative Society; and though his contemporaries in this institution were persons of abilities, many of whom afterwards attained to distinction, he made no inconsiderable figure as a speaker. Even at this early age, he was remarkable for those very qualities by which he was afterwards distinguished as a member of our ecclesiastical courts; felicity of speech, complete self-possession, a considerable talent for wit and humour, and acute reasoning faculties.

Having studied for the church, he obtained licence as a preacher from the presbytery of Dumfries, of which his uncle was a member, in the spring of 1781. He did not continue long without a pastoral charge; for he was ordained minister of the parish of Crossmichael on the 18th of September 1783.

His predecessor in this living was the Rev. Nathaniel M'Kie, the son of the Rev. William M'Kie of Balmaghie, and maternal uncle of the heroine of *Mary's dream*. Mr. Nathaniel M'Kie was a man of simplicity of character, of plain uncultivated manners, of superstitious credulity, and altogether of great eccentricity. But he was a respectable clergyman; and is known as the author of a song, entitled, *No dominies for me, laddie*. He was also the writer of various doggrel verses composed on different occasions; but the song in question is the only composition of merit that bears his name. He died unmarried on the 10th of January 1781; and though it has been supposed that he was himself the hero of the song of which we are speaking, he was never known, at any future period of life, to have been under the influence of the tender passion.

Dr. Bryce Johnstone having long directed his attention to the study of church law, and to the mode of procedure in the ecclesiastical courts, his nephew, now minister of Crossmichael,

most successfully imitated his example. His acquirements in this department soon became eminent; and his brethren regarded him with deference on all such subjects. He guided the deliberations of the local courts on all important occasions; and when he was a member of the General Assembly, he showed great knowledge of business; and held a most respectable place as a speaker and church-lawyer in that court.

He remained a bachelor for upwards of eleven years after his settlement in Crossmichael. At length, on the 11th of November 1794, he married Miss Mary English, a lady of respectability and accomplishments. The result of this union was a very interesting family, particularly of daughters,—the eldest of whom, Miss Johnstone, celebrated for beauty, as well as for every amiable quality, was laid in an early grave in 1818.

Of Sir John Sinclair's patriotic intention of drawing up a *Statistical Account of Scotland*, compiled by the clergymen of the Established Church, Mr. Johnstone highly approved; and in the first volume of that work his account of his own parish appeared.

Of the Stewartry of Kirkeudbright Agricultural Society, established in March 1809, Mr. Johnstone was one of the original members, and one of the committee of management first appointed. He was, at a subsequent period, one of the four presidents of the society. He read an essay before that body, containing *A view of the defects in our system of farm management, and of the obstacles to its improvement*, both as respects proprietors and tenants.

Before this time, Mr. Johnstone had lost his distinguished uncle, who died on the 27th of April 1805, and he preached his funeral sermon in the Church of Holywood. "Many peaceful, and profitable, and happy days," says he, in his appeal to the people, towards the end of his discourse, "have I spent among you. In this pulpit I began my labours as a preacher of the gospel. To you I have spoken more frequently than to any other congregation, except that which is my dear peculiar charge. On twenty-two solemn occasions, I have

assisted here, in the ministry of holy things, and joined with you in commemorating our Saviour's dying love, over the symbols of his broken body and shed blood."

In 1807, he published a posthumous volume of his uncle's sermons, and prefixed to them a *Memoir of the Life, Character, and Writings of the Author*. This sketch is most ably compiled, and conveys to us a most favourable impression of the character of the writer.

Mr. Johnstone did not live to advanced years; for, after a lingering illness, he died on the 20th of June 1820, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and thirty-seventh of his ministry. His funeral sermon was preached by the Rev. Dr. Brown, now of Glasgow. Mrs. Johnstone survives him.

In stature he was rather above the middle size, of firm make, of prepossessing appearance, of frank and polished manners, of lively conversation, given to punning, a species of wit in which he excelled. The painting of him by Mr. John Allan, from which an engraving by Walker is prefixed to his posthumous volume of sermons, is a striking likeness.

The *Sermons*, just referred to, were published by his family in 1825; and though they labour under all the imperfections incident to a posthumous work, they are honourable to his memory, as useful, practical, and able discourses. They are all on important subjects, and bring forward the peculiar doctrines of the gospel with equal judgment and effect. Two of them had before appeared in *The Scotch Preacher*.

CHAPTER XX.

LIVES OF PATRICK HANNAY, JOHN LOWE, AND THE
REV. WILLIAM GILLESPIE.

WE have not yet given an account of any poet, if we except Mr. Andrew Symson of Kirkinner. Galloway, in truth, cannot boast of any writer of great celebrity in this department; but of such as she has produced we now proceed to treat. For the following short account of Patrick Hannay, I am indebted to the kindness of Dr. David Irving, the learned biographer of Buchanan.

PATRICK HANNAY was a younger son of Donald Hannay of Sorbie. (Nisbet's *System of Heraldry*, vol. i. p. 385.) It may be inferred that he had received an academical education; for in the title-page of his *Elegies*, he styles himself A. M. He appears, as Mr. Ellis remarks, to have served in a military capacity under Sir Andrew Gray, a colonel of foot, and general of artillery to the king of Bohemia. One of his publications bears the following title: "Two *Elegies* on the late Death of our Soueraigne Queene Anne: with Epitaphes. Written by Patrick Hannay, M^o of Arts." Lond. 1619, 8vo. Another is entitled "A happy Husband; or Directions for a Maid to choose her Mate; together with a Wives Behaviour after Marriage. By Patrick Hannay, Gent." Lond. 1819, 8vo. This composition, with a distinct title-page, is appended to Brathwait's *Description of a Good Wife*. After an in-

terval of three years, he published a collection of his poems, which is now a book of great pecuniary value. "The Nightingale, Sheretine, and Mariana: a Happy Husband: Elegies on the Death of Queen Anne: Songs and Sonnets. By Patrick Hannay, Gent." Lond. 1622, 8vo. The engraved title includes a portrait of the author. At Mr. Bindley's sale this rare volume produced L.35, 14s., at Mr. Perry's, L.38, 6s., and at Sir Mark Sykes's L.42, 10s. 6d. The latter copy had belonged to Mr. Bindley. Some specimens of Hannay's poetry may be found in Ellis's *Specimens of the Early English Poets*, vol. iii. p. 135.—Beloe's *Anecdotes of Literature*, vol. vi. p. 191,—and Davis's *Second Journey round the Library of a Bibliomaniac*, p. 72. Lond. 1825, 8vo. The following verses are transcribed from the first edition of the Elegies.

ON THE QUEEN.

The world's a sea of errors all must passe,
 Where shclues and sands the purling billow blinds;
 Men's bodies are fraile barks of brittle glasse,
 Which still are toss'd with aduerse tyds and winds;
 Reason's the pylot that the course directs,
 Which makes the vessell (as its hieght) holde out;
 Passions are partners, a still-iarring rout;
 Succumbing thoughts are life-inuading leaks.
 How built her body, such a voyage made!
 How great her reason, which so rightly swayed!
 How plyant passions, which so well obeyd!
 How dantlesse thoughts, vaine doubts durst nere inuade!
 Her body, reason, passions, thoughts did gree
 To make her life the art to saile this sea.

JOHN LOWE* was born at Kenmure, parish of Kells, in the year 1750. His father was gardener to Mr. Gordon of Ken-

* *Life of Lowe*, written by the late Mr. Gillespie, in *Cromek's Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song*, 342.

mure, son to that unfortunate nobleman, who, in the rebellion of 1715, forfeited his life in the cause of the exiled House of Stuart. Having, at the parish school, acquired the rudiments of classical learning, he early betrayed a wish to become a scholar; but the narrowness of his father's circumstances did not enable him to carry this laudable desire into effect; and, at the age of fourteen, he was put as an apprentice to John Heron, a weaver in the burgh of New Galloway, and father to the historian of whom we have already spoken.

But genius cannot remain long concealed. Its native and inherent energy and aspirings, no circumstances, however disastrous, can subdue or annihilate. Lowe's ignoble employment, instead of quenching the native vigour of his mind, constituted the very thing that roused it and brought it into action. The scanty funds with which his labour supplied him, and which he improved by employing his evenings in teaching church-music, he devoted to his own improvement in education. And having at length become sufficiently qualified to enter upon an academical course, he removed to the university of Edinburgh in the year 1771.

Amid his severer studies, Mr. Lowe did not fail to cultivate poetry, to which the natural bent of his genius had early inclined him. The following letter, (written from college,) discloses a mind delicately alive to one of the most striking features of nature, and imbued with the finest sensibilities.

“ We have had a long and severe winter here, but now we have a very agreeable spring—the time of the singing of birds is come, and the song of joy is already heard in our land. How sweet now to leave the noise of the busy world, and, with frequent footsteps, to gather health from the gale of the morning—to raise the soul to heaven in pious ardour, and hail the new-born day;—to bask in the cheerful beams of the sun, the image of its Great Original!—In short, we are like people transported in an instant from the terrible icy shore of Zembla, where eternal tempests madden, and dreadful whirlwinds roar amid the frozen mountains, to the banks of the Nile, where a lasting verdure clothes the fertile plains, where wintry blasts,

and the storms of dark December are never known. Pardon a comparison so bold—but I am enraptured with the agreeable change.” * * * *

But the most important event of Lowe's life was his introduction, in the capacity of tutor, to the family of Mr. M'Ghie of Airds. The house of Airds, situated on the declivity of a wooded hill, which is washed on opposite sides by the Dee and Ken, two rivers, whose streams unite at its base, commands an extensive view of a beautiful and varied landscape. The hand of nature has shut it out from almost all communication with the living world ; it seems, indeed, intended as the nursery or dwelling of a poet. Lowe could not but appreciate the happiness of his lot. He delighted to “muse o'er nature with a poet's eye ;” and the sweet and poetic charms of Airds he did not cease to remember with melancholy pleasure, when he was far removed from them. “The beautiful banks of the river Rappahannock,” says he, in a letter to a friend, “where the town in which I now reside is situated, with all their luxuriance and fragrance, have never to me had charms equal to smooth Ken, or murmuring Dee.” “Thou wood of Airds ! balmy retreat of peace, innocence, harmony and love, with what raptures do I still reflect on thee !”

While he did not, I believe, neglect the education of those placed under his care, he devoted his vacant hours to the contemplation of the beauties of external nature, and to the cultivation of those poetical talents with which he was endowed. To derive his happiness more directly from his own mind, he used to retire to an elevated cliff in a sequestered part of the wood, “to view the beauties of the rising day,” and to hold sweet converse with the genii of the mountains and the streams. On this spot, he erected a rural seat, and environed it with a sweet arbour entwined with honeysuckle, woodbine, and other shrubs. It is still dignified with the name of *Lowe's Scat*, and has been denominated by Burns, classic ground. “When were you at Airds,” says the poet, in a letter written many years after he had left his native shore ; “and does my arbour still remain, or is there now any vestige of my favourite walk ?”

It was on this spot that he composed those verses that have conferred immortality on his name. His two most distinguished effusions were, *A Morning Poem*, of a descriptive and pastoral kind, and, *Mary, weep no more for me*, a song familiarly known to every admirer of poetic excellence. The story of *Mary's Dream* was founded in truth. Mary, of the family of Airds, had been promised in marriage to a gentleman of the name of Alexander Miller, a surgeon, who was drowned at sea. The impression which such an event must, in any case, have made upon the mind of a poet, was, in the instance before us, rendered deeper, from the circumstance that the sister of Mary had inspired Lowe with feelings of a tender kind. The subject, therefore, was one which could not fail to call forth all the energy of which he was capable. And, accordingly, the poem is regarded as one of the happiest efforts. There is a simplicity, a pathos, and sublimity about it, to which there are few parallels in the class of compositions to which it belongs.*

The views of Mr. Lowe were directed to our national church, and he had commenced at college the study of theology. But the happiest period of his life—"the sabbath of his days," was past. Having been engaged as tutor to the family of a brother of the illustrious Washington, he crossed the Atlantic and settled in America; and though he flattered himself that he might be enabled to be more useful to his aged mother in his new situation than he could otherwise have been, the New World soon proved the grave of all his hopes, and yielded to him nothing but disappointment and distress. After remaining for some time in the family to which he went, he established an academy in Fredericksburgh, a town situated on the river Rappahannock, Virginia; and, at a subsequent period, became a minister of the episcopal church of that place, and was for a while prosperous, respectable, and happy. But his evil star was now in the ascendant. His academy declined, on account, he says, of the severity of the seasons; and the evening of his days was clouded, and his death accelerated by

* The heroine of this song, afterwards married to a Mr. McLellan, died at Manchester on the 30th of November 1817, aged seventy.

an event, which may be said to have proceeded from his own imprudence.

One of the young ladies of Airds, as has already been mentioned, had early become the object of Lowe's affection. His addresses, it is believed, were not unwelcome; and before he left his native shore, they had pledged their mutual vows of inviolable faithfulness, until fate should smile upon their re-union. In such interesting circumstances, he bid her farewell; and two years after they parted, he renewed his vows in a poem, addressed to her.

“ What hindered me, when first thy fondest slave,
 My hand to give thee—as my heart I gave ?
 Wedlock itself would need no grave Divine
 To fix his stamp upon such love as mine ;
 A love so pure, so tender, and so strong,
 Might last for ages, could we live so long.

Fair faces here I meet, and forms divine,
 Enough to shake all constancy but mine.”

But his constancy was not so firm as he seems to have believed; for the truth is, he became enamoured of a beautiful Virginian lady, and forgot his first love on the banks of the Ken.* This lady, however, mortified him by a refusal; but her sister having professed a violent attachment to him, he consented to be united to her from no loftier feeling than “ a sentiment of gratitude.” This imprudent step was the source of all the miseries with which his subsequent life was embittered. The woman to whom he gave his hand was distinguished by every abandoned quality. Her infidelity to him drove him to distraction and despair. Recourse was had to the bottle to obviate those feelings with which he was overwhelmed; and intemperance and anguish combined, undermined a constitution naturally good, and brought him to an untimely grave.

The circumstances of his death must not be passed over in

* This lady was afterwards happily married to the late David Blair, Esq. of Borgue. She died lately, without having had children.

silence. "Perceiving," says his elegant biographer, "his end drawing near, and wishing to die in peace, away from his own wretched walls, he mounted a sorry palfrey, and rode some distance to the house of a friend. So much was he debilitated, that scarcely could he alight in the court and walk into the house. Afterwards, however, he revived a little, and enjoyed some hours of that vivacity which was peculiar to him. But this was but the last faint gleams of a setting sun; for, on the third day after his arrival at the house of his friend, he breathed his last. He now lies buried near Fredericksburgh, Virginia, under the shade of two palm-trees, but not a stone is there on which to write, "Mary, weep no more for me." He died in 1798, in the 48th year of his age.

His character, with the exception of which we have just spoken, and the ills to which it gave rise, was respectable. His figure, which was rather above the middle size, was handsome; his hair was of an auburn hue; his eyes were blue and penetrating; his nose aquiline; and the expression of his countenance open and benevolent.

His poetical endowments were of a high order, and cause us to regret that his fate was so unpropitious as not to enable him to cultivate them. Only one of his productions has been offered to the public; while his other pieces are fast dying away on the lips of tradition. The *Morning Poem*, composed while the author resided at Airds, abounds with many instances of beautiful description; and *Lowe's Lines*, addressed by our poet from Virginia, to the lady who should afterwards have been his wife, has been justly characterised by Mr. Gillespie as "manifesting at once the tenderness of the lover, and the imagination of the poet."

A version of *Mary's Dream* is given by Mr. Cromek in the Scottish dialect, which he regards as the genuine and original form. This opinion is erroneous. The Scottish version was never heard of, until it appeared in Cromek's work; and it is well known to have been the composition of Allan Cunningham, who took advantage of the credulity and enthusiasm of a stranger, and dishonourably palmed it on him as genuine.

No small proportion of the pieces in Cromek's work, (none of them possessed of merit,) have no higher origin. This imposition constitutes an instance of literary dishonesty, of which in this country I know no example so flagrant. Yet it admits of doubt whether the original fraud, disgraceful as it is, be more detestable than the effrontery with which Cunningham affects to brave it.*

Mr. Lowe, while at Airds, attempted also to write a tragedy, the scenes of which, according to Mr. Gillespie, he used to read to his companions, as he successively composed them. It has now been lost—a thing not to be regretted, as dramatic composition was, it is likely, at that time, and perhaps at any period, above his capacity. ^

THE REV. WILLIAM GILLESPIE, (whose life naturally follows that of Lowe,) the eldest son of the Rev. John Gillespie, minister of Kells, and Dorothea M^cEwen, was born in the manse of Kells, and baptized in the church of that parish, on the 18th of February 1776. He received his education at the parish school, then taught by Mr. William Gordon, a person of respectable learning. Gordon generally resided in the manse; and thus in addition to the instruction he received at school, the subject of this sketch enjoyed the benefit of private tuition. In the life of Dr. Murray, the names of some of Mr. Gillespie's school-fellows have been mentioned; those of Dr. Alexander Manson, physician in Nottingham, and the Rev. Dr. David Cannan of Mains, may now be added.

Young Gillespie, though a gay active boy, made rapid progress in the several branches to which his attention was directed. He early, also, showed a decided taste for music, poetry, and painting. It is a remarkable fact, for example, that the view of Kenmure castle, commonly sold in the print-shops,

* See page 254 in this work.

was engraved from a drawing of his, executed when he was about fourteen years of age.

He entered the college of Edinburgh in the year 1792. On his arrival in that city, he lived for some time in private lodgings with a companion, but was afterwards placed under Mr. Ferrier, once a clergyman of the established church, who received young gentlemen under his care as boarders. By his general behaviour and attention to his education, he gained the esteem of Mr. Ferrier, as also of the various professors under whom he studied. Owing to the recommendation of Professor Dalziel, he was appointed tutor to Mr. Don, afterwards Sir Alexander Don, Bart. This situation was attended with many advantages. It was the means of introducing him to many young men both of high birth and brilliant talents, and of communicating to him a knowledge of life; and in company with his pupil, he made the tour of the Western Highlands, which to a person given to poetry, and susceptible of strong emotions, must have afforded much excitement and delight. His *Ode to Beniglow*, written on this tour, while it has been regarded as one of his best productions, is a proof how well he could appreciate romantic scenery, and the associations to which such scenery is calculated to give birth.

During the time he officiated as tutor to Mr. Don, he regularly prosecuted his theological studies at college. While he neglected no branch of education in which he was called upon to engage, he cultivated the muse, and was known among his particular friends as a poet of no ordinary promise. It was at this time that he began *The Progress of Refinement*, a poem, which, however, was not published till many years after this period. In the list of his acquaintances he could boast of the names of many young men who afterwards attained to distinction. He was connected with several debating societies,—associations that have long been common among the students of our metropolitan university. Of the Academy of Physies, which was instituted by Mr. Brougham, Dr. Birbick, and

other young men of genius, and which lasted for three years, from January 1797, he had the honour to be a member.

While prosecuting his professional studies, he attended several of the medical classes ; a circumstance which he found of some importance when afterwards settled in the country. Having finished his college education, and his young friend and pupil having entered the army, he returned to the bosom of his father's family, and after undergoing the necessary trials, obtained licence as a preacher from the presbytery of Kirkeudbright. Residing under his native roof, both his parents being still alive, and the family as yet unseparated, he enjoyed in a remarkable manner the interchange of those domestic affections so congenial to his mind. But this felicity was not always to last. The first occurrence that enervated upon it was the departure of a younger brother for America ; he accompanied him to Liverpool, where he bade him farewell. Soon after his return, he was called upon to engage in the duties of the profession in which he had been educated ; for in 1801, he was ordained helper and successor to his father in the ministry of Kells : a settlement that met with the unanimous consent of the people of that parish.

His excellent parent, however, though advanced in years, was not unable to discharge his clerical duties ; a circumstance that allowed his son leisure to pursue, with little interruption, his favourite studies. He continued, as before, to contribute essays or poems, chiefly the latter, to the *Scots Magazine*, and other periodical works. And in 1805, *The Progress of Refinement, an Allegorical Poem, with other Poems*, appeared. He had meanwhile visited, in company with different friends, many of the most celebrated or interesting spots in his native land ; and from the various poetical effusions to which they gave rise, it is evident that he surveyed them with all the emotion of a poet. His young friend, Mr. Don, having set out on his travels, invited Mr. Gillespie to accompany him in making the tour of Europe ; an invitation which he prized too highly to decline. He had actually left home for

this purpose ; but was prevented from carrying his wishes into effect, as Bonaparte at that time issued a mandate for detaining in France all the English then resident in that kingdom.

This disappointment he felt deeply ; but he had afterwards cause to view it in a different light. It occasioned his return to Kells, and afforded him the satisfaction, (which he could not have known had he gone to the Continent,) of performing the last duties to his venerable father, who died on the 29th of April 1806. Mr. Gillespie has characterised him as “ a man distinguished for the disinterested benevolence of his character, for his sublime and unaffected piety, and his cheerful and amiable manners.” He had been minister of Kells for forty-two years. He left behind him a widow with seven children, three sons and four daughters. His widow survived him above three years. She was a person of such extreme delicacy of constitution, that, for many years, she had been obliged to confine herself almost entirely to her bed-room, and life could have afforded her little enjoyment.

Notwithstanding the death of the head of the family, no alteration otherwise took place in their domestic circumstances ; and the subject of this brief sketch regarded it as one of the happiest events of his life, that, having been appointed his father’s successor, his house could still continue the home of his mother and family. It was indeed a happy home. Never was filial or fraternal affection more eminently displayed.

From this time there are few incidents in his life calculated to engage the attention of the biographer. Living, as he did, in a strikingly romantic country, and alive to the beauties of nature, poetry continued to be his favourite pursuit. He attended the church courts regularly : he paid occasional visits to Edinburgh ; he made an excursion to the Lakes of Cumberland ; he twice visited London, on one of which occasions he extended his journey to Paris. He was chaplain to the Stewarty of Kirkcudbright Yeomanry Cavalry. He was a member of the Highland Society ; the thanks of which body he had the honour to receive for some communications he had

made to them. The anniversary of Burns, celebrated at Dumfries, he regularly attended; and several of his addresses delivered on these occasions were distinguished for that ardour and that admiration of genius which marked his character.

Though *The Progress of Refinement* had not experienced that success which it deserves, he ventured, in 1815, to publish another large work, entitled *Consolation, with other Poems*; which, I regret to state, did not experience a more favourable reception. In 1820, circumstances of a political nature, but involving neither disloyalty nor faction in any quarter, rendered it expedient for him to give to the world *The Rebellion of Absalom; a discourse preached at Kirkcudbright on the 30th July of that year, before the Stewartry Gentlemen Yeomanry Cavalry*.

He had hitherto remained a bachelor; a circumstance the more remarkable, as he was very partial to the company of ladies, and was regarded as not unsusceptible of the tender passion. At length, on the 26th of July 1825, he was united to a lady whom he had long known; Charlotte, third daughter of the late Major Hoggan of Waterside, county of Dumfries. His health had never been very vigorous. His amiable bride and himself, immediately on their marriage, set out on a jaunt to the western highlands. But he had not proceeded many miles, when he was seized with indisposition. He became at length so ill that he was obliged to confine himself several days on his journey; and on his return home, his complaints turned out to be ill-formed Erysipelas, which soon terminated in general inflammation. Of the result of this trouble, Mr. Gillespie himself never augured favourably. He feared the worst; a circumstance, which, coming so close on his marriage, must have augmented his suffering and lacerated the finest feelings of his soul. He bore his illness, however, with great fortitude, and while he acquiesced in all the means which his medical attendants recommended, he left, as he expressed it, "the issue with God." When allowed to converse, for speaking was regarded as unfavourable to his complaint, he expressed his hope and confidence in a Saviour. He gra-

dually became worse ; and he died on the 15th of October, in the fiftieth year of his age, and twentieth of his ministry, within less than three months from the day of his marriage.

Never did any individual die more regretted. To describe the sorrow of his widow and relations would be impossible. His flock felt as if they had lost, not merely a faithful pastor, but a venerated parent or a beloved brother. His death struck a damp upon the public in general, particularly from the interesting circumstances under which it had taken place ; and many public tributes, both in prose and verse, were paid to his memory. At the grave, on the day of his interment, scarcely a dry eye was to be seen : even the sexton,—a character not in general remarkable for soft feelings,—when covering the remains of his departed pastor with kindred dust, sobbed and wept to such a degree that he was hardly able to proceed with his trying duty.

Mr. Gillespie was in person rather above the middle size, his height being above five feet, ten inches. His hair was a light auburn ; his eyes blue ; his face, marked by the small-pox, but expressive of frankness and intelligence ; his step light and active ; his speech fluent ; his conversation witty, sprightly, enthusiastic, and intelligent ; his manners mild and polished.

Mr. Gillespie's character is, in every respect, amiable. He was a dutiful and affectionate son and brother. " His soul," to use the words of the Rev. Alexander M'Gowan, who had known him from his infancy,* " was knit with the souls of his

* Mr. M'Gowan, minister of the neighbouring parish of Dalry, preached Mr. Gillespie's funeral sermon, as he had done that of his father. Both discourses were published soon after they were respectively delivered. Mr. M'Gowan was a man of learning and of talents, but of extremely eccentric manners, and of great ignorance of life. He was born of humble parents, in the parish of which he was afterwards minister. He supported himself by teaching. In 1767, he was engaged as tutor in the family of John Newall of Earlston. He was afterwards appointed to the parish-school of Dalry ; and in July 1783, was ordained minister of that parish, Mr. Newall being patron of it. Miss Mary Newall, the daughter of this gentleman, he soon afterwards married. He was the father of seventeen children ; and

own household, and he loved them as his own soul." He was a warm friend; and a man of sound principle and integrity in all the relations of life. As a pastor, he was most faithful. Having been born among the people of whom he afterwards had the spiritual care, he regarded them with a feeling of interest and affection, which, in other circumstances, could hardly have been experienced. He declined the presentation to the church of Dalton, which, before his father's death, had been offered to him, unsolicited on his part. His pulpit discourses, particularly his written ones, were eloquent and impressive. In pathos lay his excellence. He was attentive in visiting the sick. Ministerial examinations he never neglected. To the management of the poor-funds he paid particular attention; and, while by this means he was really conferring an important blessing on the poor themselves, he repeatedly received the thanks of the heritors. He instituted a sabbath-school in his parish. In short, he took a deep interest in every thing calculated to promote the real interests of his people.

His mind was naturally of a superior order, and had been highly improved by reading and study. His genius was altogether of a poetical turn. His sermons, his whole character displayed this. Yet his own compositions have not been successful productions. *The Progress of Refinement*, written in the Spenserian stanza, is a poem possessed of many beauties. "In tracing mankind," says Mr. Barbour, "from a state of rudeness to a progressive state of refinement, the ingenious author finds many opportunities of displaying all the powers of poesy, and all the graces of the descriptive muse."* *Consolation*, † his other large work, the object of which, as he states

died at the age of eighty-two, on the 12th of October 1826. He printed the prospectus of a large work on Elocution, a subject which he had studied with great care; but the work itself never appeared.

* *Tributes to Scottish Genius.*

† Dedicated to his brother, Robert Gillespie, Esq. merchant, New-York, a most respectable, accomplished, and kind-hearted man, who did not long survive his brother; he died on the 20th of September 1829.

in his preface, is “to illustrate the influence of religion in supporting the mind amid the trials of life,—in sickness, in misfortune, in exile, in sorrow, in old age, and at death,” consists of a series of poetical pictures, well conceived, and skillfully painted. It is written in blank verse, which he manages with great felicity. His ballads and lyrical pieces are possessed of higher merit than his larger poems. Indeed, of the former, some are exquisitely beautiful, and will preserve his name when his other compositions are forgotten. *Ruin*, an ode, is a production of high poetic excellence. The prevailing defect of his poetry is uniformity, and a want of originality and vigour. The chief beauty of his verses consists in the purity of moral feeling and the ardour of piety, by which they are distinguished.

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CHAPTER XXI.

LIFE OF MAJOR STEWART MAXWELL.

MAJOR STEWART MAXWELL,* (author of an excellent poem called *The Battle of the Bridge*), was born at New-Abbey, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, on the 23d of January 1783. His father, Captain James Maxwell, was the youngest son of Sir William Maxwell of Monreith, Baronet, and of Lady Jane Montgomery, daughter of the ninth earl of Eglinton: his mother, Elizabeth Maxwell, was daughter of William Maxwell of Ardwell, Wigtonshire. Captain James Maxwell was uncle to Jane, Duchess of Gordon. Stewart Maxwell, the subject of this memoir, was the youngest of eight sons, who arrived at maturity, of whom not fewer than seven entered the army or navy. When he had hardly begun his letters, his family removed to Newton-Stewart; at the public school of which place he received his elementary education. Having lost both his parents by death, he was removed from Newton-Stewart and sent to London, when only eleven years of age, along with his brother John, who was a year older than him-

* For the interesting communication, from the particulars of which this sketch is composed, I am indebted to the Rev. William Rose, the respectable minister of Kirkcolm, Wigtonshire, brother-in-law of the eminent person whose life we are about to trace. Some information relative to Major Maxwell's last moments, I owe to the Rev. Richard Shannon of Edinburgh.

self, and afterwards a captain in the Royal Navy. Being destined for the army, he entered the military academy of Woolwich as a cadet. But his studies were soon interrupted, for he obtained his first commission, that of second lieutenant of artillery, on the 21st of November 1796, when in the fourteenth year of his age: a time of life at which his education cannot be supposed to have been very liberal.

His first military station was at the fort of Leith, where he remained till he got his commission as first lieutenant of artillery, (13th July 1799), when he was removed to Canterbury. It was soon after this period that he went, for the first time, on foreign service, and it was not his lot, or rather not his wish, to be again placed on a home-station. He went in the armament under Sir Eyre Coote, which proceeded first to Vigo Bay, and afterwards to Malta; which surrendered to the British, after a desperate siege, in 1800. After this event, while the greater part of that armament proceeded to Egypt under Sir Ralph Abercromby, the company to which he belonged remained in the garrison at Malta. During his residence on this island, he became acquainted with Mr. Coleridge, the poet, secretary to the governor, and with several other gentlemen of literary pursuits; a circumstance calculated, if he had any genius about him, to arouse it and call it into action. Excitement is the great nurse of talent; and many a man of original powers has sunk into an inglorious grave, who, had circumstances occurred to develop these powers, might have risen to distinction. Major Maxwell's early education had not been very general or liberal; his habits, idle, like those of other boys, and of most young officers; his attention at least had been mainly directed to those branches of knowledge, chiefly mathematical science, that had a reference to his profession. And it was now for the first time that he turned his thoughts to literature, or felt any desire to cultivate the muse. His first poetical attempts were made in a war-of-wit with some of the junior officers in the garrison. It is likely, that even at this period he made bolder efforts; but of these, if he did make them, no memorial

has been left. From this date, however, he amused himself by writing verses occasionally so long as he lived.

Under such favourable circumstances for exciting and cultivating a love for letters, did he remain at Malta till 1803, when his health having suffered from the climate, he obtained leave of absence and returned to Scotland. After spending some time with his friends and relations, his health recovered, and he made a pedestrian tour through part of the Highlands; an excursion, which, to a man of poetic or romantic taste, could not fail to be interesting.

Having received his commission as second captain of artillery, on the 24th of July 1804, he returned to the Mediterranean, and joined the company to which he was appointed, then stationed in Sicily. His services on this island and throughout the Mediterranean, extended to nearly six years. He accompanied the successful expedition against the island of Ischia, under Sir John Stewart. He made a tour through the Morea, and the adjacent parts of Greece, visiting every spot celebrated in ancient history, or important from classical associations. While in Sicily, he ascended Mount *Ætna*, and had the good fortune to witness one of its grandest eruptions; so that his description of that phenomenon in his poem of *The Battle of the Bridge* was the result of his own observation.

Thus advantageously did his time pass while on the Mediterranean station. But being promoted to be first captain of artillery on the 22d January 1810, this appointment changed his destination, and recalled him to England, where the company to which he was nominated was stationed. But the peninsular war was raging; and to return ingloriously to England at such a conjuncture, was a step inconsistent with his military enthusiasm. And circumstances happily occurred that enabled him to gratify his ardent desire in this respect. Having on his way homeward accompanied Sir John Stewart to Gibraltar, he was sent with despatches to Cadiz. From Cadiz he proceeded to Lisbon, where he obtained leave to visit the British army. When he reached head-quarters, he realized his fondest wishes, by accomplishing an exchange of companies

with a captain of artillery, whose private affairs required his presence in England. He now joined the British army lying before Badajos, and continued honourably to serve with it till the end of the war. He commanded a brigade of artillery, and acted a distinguished part in many important military operations. During a great part of this time he served under the immediate orders of the late lieutenant-general the honourable Sir William Stewart, in the division of the army commanded by Lord Hill: to both of these distinguished characters he was well known, and by both of them his merits as an officer, were highly appreciated. For his bravery in three of the battles, in which he was engaged, he received medals. He got a pension from the board of ordnance for having commanded a brigade of artillery in the battle of Vittoria; as also one from government for the loss of the sight of an eye. He was made companion of the military order of the bath; and to the rank of brevet-major in the army he was raised on the 4th of June 1814.

His health, in the mean time, had suffered severely, and his constitution had become impaired, in consequence of the incessant fatigue to which he had been exposed. On this account he obtained leave of absence immediately after the battle of Toulouse, which was renewed afterwards from time to time, for the same reason for which it had been originally granted. At this period he returned to Scotland, where he continued for nearly two years. But his health was not, during that interval, sensibly improved.

The climate of Italy having been recommended to him, he went to the continent in 1816, accompanied by his sister Miss Susan Maxwell. He arrived in Italy towards the end of that year, and fixed his residence at Pisa. It was here he began his celebrated work, *The Battle of the Bridge*, which will long constitute an honourable memorial of his genius. "The subject of the following poem," says he in the preface, "is taken from the history of the Pisan republic. About the year 1005, that state, then free and prosperous, was, by foreign invasion, suddenly involved in calamities, and brought to the

verge of ruin. Its deliverance was effected by the energy of a few patriots. Among these the most distinguished was Chinzica, the heroine of this poem. She was of the house of Sismondi, a family of German origin, and of high consideration during part of the middle ages in the Pisan republic. According to tradition, the state expressed its gratitude for its deliverance, and consecrated the patriotism of its deliverers by the establishment of a triennial festival, the celebration of which was finally discontinued near the end of the last century. This festival, called, from the event it commemorates, *La Battaglia del Ponte*, gives its name to the present poem, of which that event is the basis."

Having spent six months at Pisa, forming the plot, or engaged in the composition of this poem, he removed to the baths at Lucca; where, having staid six months, he left Italy, and went to Paris in the end of the year 1817. In the ensuing spring he again travelled southward, and spent the summer chiefly at Rome and Naples. In autumn he returned to Paris, where he spent the winter; and in May of the following year he arrived in England, accompanied by Miss Maxwell, the companion of his travels.

During these visits to Italy he availed himself of the opportunity of seeing whatever was most interesting in that classical country. His knowledge of the dead languages was trifling, but his acquaintance with Greek and Roman history was minute; and from his poetical taste and elegant character of mind, he was well qualified to appreciate all the important objects with which that country so largely abounds, and the elevated emotions which they are calculated to inspire. It was his practice, during this continental tour, to write in the evening a journal, in Hudibrastic verse, of what he had seen during the day. This composition extended to several thousand lines, and contained many spirited and characteristic sketches. When describing objects and feelings of dignity and importance, he must, it is supposed, have employed a measure more suited to the subject.

On his return from the continent in 1819, he continued

fully four years in Britain. He had no fixed residence, living respectively in Galloway, at Edinburgh, London, or visiting some of the wells. During this time he became acquainted with several of the most celebrated living poets,—Scott, Woodsworth, Southey, Hogg. He finished *The Battle of the Bridge, or Pisa Defended, a Poem, in ten cantos*; of which the first edition appeared, under the title of *Chinzica*, in 1821; the second in 1823, under the more appropriate title which it now bears.

In November 1823, he again went to the continent, chiefly with the intention of revisiting the scenes of the campaigns he had made in the peninsular war. The ensuing winter and spring he spent at Tours, then the residence of a brother and sister-in-law.* At this time he suffered severely from inflammation in his eyes,—a complaint for which a course of mercury was thought necessary; and by the use of this powerful medicine for two months, the inflammation was subdued, and the appearance of his eyes much improved, while his general health did not seem to have suffered. On the third of May his health was so good, that he parted, though with extremely agitated feelings, as if from a presentiment that the parting was for ever, with his relations at Tours, and proceeded on his intended journey to Nantes. From this latter place he went, with a party of friends, to visit the Abbaye de la Trappe, distant about thirty miles. The day was chill and wet; and he contracted a violent cold, from which he dated the commencement of an illness, which soon brought him to a premature grave. He ventured, however, to proceed to Bourdeaux; but on his arrival at that place he was confined six days to bed. While there he wrote a long letter to his sister-in-law at Tours, executed apparently in excellent spirits, and containing not the most distant allusion to the state of his health. On the 11th of June he arrived at Pau from Bourdeaux, accompanied by his friends Captain Robertson, R. N., and Mr. Charles Blair.

* Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Montgomery Maxwell, of the artillery, and his lady Mrs. Maxwell.

Though on his arrival he appeared well, and in good spirits, he remained in bed next day, complaining of fatigue. As he was not better on the following day, a medical gentleman was sent for, who pronounced his complaints to be merely a slight cold, and said that he would be well in a short time. But this opinion held out hopes which were not realized. On the 16th, he was seized with shivering, and with such debility that he was quite unable to walk. Two other physicians were immediately called, who pronounced his disorder not to be a cold, but deep-rooted consumption. On the day following he slept constantly, speaking incoherently in his sleep. On the morning of the 18th he was calm and collected; but his appearance had completely changed; a cold sweat came over him; his pulse was faint and irregular; and it was evident that his death could not be far distant. Under these melancholy circumstances, his friends having thought it their duty to inform him of his real situation, he expressed a wish to see the doctor who had originally attended him; and on his arrival, he took him by the hand and said, "When you first saw me, you said you did not think my case dangerous, but that I should recover in a few days. Now I understand you say it is all over with me." The doctor replied that he hoped all was not yet over, and that something might be done. "Tell me," says he, "the truth, and all that you think." The medical gentleman having given his opinion, Major Maxwell, aware that he had not long to live, said to his friend Captain Robertson; "Robertson, I wish you would give me pen, ink, and paper: I wish to write to my brother Montgomery." The request was instantly obeyed. He was raised up, and supported in bed. He dated the letter; but after some ineffectual attempts, found himself unable to proceed. He then said, "Robertson, you will write for me, and I shall dictate." He accordingly dictated a few brief sentences, expressing his last wish in regard to his affairs. It was an expiring effort; for he died in about a quarter of an hour, without a struggle. This event took place on the 18th of June 1824, at the early age of forty-one.

His remains were interred on the following day, in the burial ground at Pau, in a small corner allotted for the reception of Protestants. His funeral was attended by all the gentry resident in that town and neighbourhood; and the service was read by the Rev. Richard Q. Shannon, of Edinburgh, who then happened to be at Pau. The place, where his body is repositied, which is near Orthes, the scene of one of those brilliant achievements of the British army, in which his bravery had been signally displayed, was afterwards purchased and enclosed, and a monument, with a suitable inscription, erected on the spot to his memory, by his brother, Lieutenant-Colonel Archibald Montgomery Maxwell.

He died unmarried. Several of his brothers, particularly Sir Murray Maxwell, distinguished themselves in the public service.*

In stature he was above six feet; of slender but handsome figure; and of great muscular strength. His countenance was pleasing and manly, expressive of vivacity and mildness.

From what has already been said, it may be inferred that his character was amiable. It was, indeed, peculiarly so. His dispositions were cheerful and social; his manners polite and gentle. He was a man of great simplicity of heart; unaffected, unreserved, singularly free from selfishness, upright in his principles, of warm affection, steady attachment, and enthusiasm in his pursuits. In his habits, he was temperate; in his expenses, moderate. His generosity was bounded only by his means. His reverence for Christianity was great.

Though in his youth he was not a severe student, he afterwards became capable of close application. He was partial to metaphysical researches; in which department Dr. Reid was his favourite author. He acquired the knowledge of languages with great facility. In any place, in which he remained for a few months, he became master of its provincial dialect. With the French, Spanish, and Italian languages he was intimately acquainted, and spoke them fluently. Some time

* *Appendix, note J.*

before his death, he had resolved on commencing, if he did not commence, the study of Greek and Latin; of the former of which he knew nothing, of the latter not much. He was possessed of great power in concentrating his faculties on any subject in which he took a deep interest. He composed fifty or sixty verses of *the Battle of the Bridge*, one forenoon, on his way from London, on the top of the mail-coach. He wrote a great number of small pieces, and some short dramatic sketches. In the Peninsula, even amid the noise of a camp, he composed a poem of as great length as the one he afterwards published; but having lost the manuscript, he did not submit to the drudgery of re-writing it.

The Battle of the Bridge, his only published work, is a performance of extraordinary merit, particularly when we take into account the disadvantages under which, from the limited nature of his early education and his being so long engaged in active service, the author laboured. In a fictitious narrative, constructed on a remote historical fact, he has combined with the deliverance of Pisa, not only the story of the heroine, through whose instrumentality this event was accomplished, but the portraiture of various persons of opposite and conflicting characters, all of them well conceived and admirably drawn. The principal conspirator, and the illustrious female who saved her country, are fully and strikingly delineated. The reckless ambition, the daring villany, the appalling vices of the one, form a striking contrast to the unobtrusive but unbending patriotism, the calm loveliness and devoted attachment of the other. The poem embraces strong but natural representation of deep and tender feeling: while the perturbed fancies of insanity, as well as the exhibition of the darker passions, are nervously portrayed. There is sometimes an appearance of supernatural machinery; yet no such agency is really introduced; and it turns out that every thing, however intricate the plot may appear, has been effected by mere human means. Love, friendship, patriotism, after a long and doubtful conflict with lust, envy, revenge, and treason, are finally triumphant.

“ The places and objects, the natural scenery and pheno-

mena to which the poem bears reference," says Major Maxwell in his preface, "are in general described from the author's own observation; and some other occurrences which he has taken occasion to introduce, are such as he himself has had an opportunity to witness." He has in truth availed him of the advantages he had enjoyed. His powers of description are eminent; and the invariable impression on the mind of the reader is, that, while the author could be no stranger to the scenes and objects which he so luminously places before him, he had viewed their features with a poet's eye, and felt their influence with a poet's heart.

The author informs us that "he attempted a medium between the stately regularity of the ancient epic, and the grotesque wildness of the modern dramatic tale." The verse of eight syllables is adopted; but it is occasionally changed with the varying nature of the subject; and some lyrical measures are introduced. There are, it must not be denied, some faulty rhymes, some unmusical stanzas, and instances of inelegant or inaccurate diction. But the versification is in general harmonious, and the language felicitous. The moral tendency of the poem is excellent. There is no indelicacy, no profanity, no irreligion. Every line bears the stamp of pure principles and amiable feeling. The following lines I quote, chiefly on account of the excellent truth they so beautifully express:—

'Tis not for Faith to urge a claim
 To wealth or beauty, power or fame;
 But humbly ask, nor dread denial,
 Strength to support each earthly trial.
 The apathy that hardly lives,
 The reckless fierceness passion gives,
 The bravery honour bids us wear,
 The wretched courage of despair;—
 What are all these, amid life's woes,
 The field; the scaffold; dungeon; stake;
 The bodily, the mental ache,—
 Oh what to constancy that flows
 From heaven!—to strength that Faith bestows!

CHAPTER XXII.

LIFE OF DR THOMAS BROWN.

THIS distinguished individual was born in the manse of Kirkmabreck, stewartry of Kirkeudbright, on the 9th of January 1778. Of this parish, his father, the Rev. Samuel Brown, was minister : his mother was Mary, daughter of John Smith, Esq., of the customs, Wigton. Mrs. Smith was daughter of a younger son of M'Dowall of Logan, and of Miss Hamilton of Dalziel. The Rev. Mr. Brown's father, who was proprietor of Barharrow, was his immediate predecessor in the charge of Kirkmabreck. He was married to a daughter of Murdoch of Comlodan ; a family that had been in possession of that estate from the time of Robert Bruce.

Dr. THOMAS BROWN, whose history we now profess to trace, was the youngest of thirteen children. His excellent father, who had not attained to old age, died about eighteen months after the birth of his son ; but his mother, a lady of great worth and mildness of character, survived her husband nearly forty years, and had the happiness of seeing her son attain to honour and fame. She did not leave the manse till about a year after her widowhood ; at which time she removed with her family to Edinburgh, where she afterwards continued to reside. Dr. Brown afforded early symptoms of that activity of mind and desire of knowledge for which he was afterwards remarkable. At the age of seven, he was removed from his maternal roof by his uncle, Captain Smith, of the 37th regiment, and

placed in a school at Camberwell, in the neighbourhood of London. His mother had before this time been his only instructor ; a circumstance that may, in part, account for the romantic and altogether extraordinary love and veneration which he ever manifested for that amiable parent. From Camberwell he was in a short time removed to Chiswick, where he continued several years. He was afterwards successively placed at Bromley and Kensington ; at the latter of which schools he was, in 1792, deprived by death of his kind patron and friend Captain Smith. A few months after this event he bade adieu to England, and returned to his mother's house in Edinburgh. He travelled thither by land, but his books, which formed a considerable little library, were lost at sea, the ship in which they were conveyed having been wrecked in Yarmouth Roads. This circumstance affected him with great grief, and he never spoke of it but with regret.

He was now sixteen years of age, and few young men at that period of life had ever made equal progress in study. On entering the College of Edinburgh, he attended the class of logic, then ably taught by Dr. Finlayson, whose approbation he was so happy as to gain. Having, during the succeeding summer, paid a visit to Liverpool, he had the pleasure of being introduced to Dr. Currie, also the son of a Scots clergyman, who treated him with great kindness. Discovering, no doubt, the natural character of his mind, this distinguished man put into his hand a copy of Stewart's *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind*, with a strong desire that he should peruse it. With this recommendation he did not decline to comply ; and his acquaintance with this work fitted him to attend Mr. Stewart's course of lectures next season with uncommon advantage. These prelections he heard with great delight ; few were more capable of appreciating the eloquence and ingenuity which pervaded them. But he was not a blind and indiscriminating admirer. One of Mr. Stewart's theories, as unfolded in the class, he did not regard as correct ; and having written some remarks on it, ventured to submit them to the professor, who received him with kindness ; and this circumstance formed

the commencement of an intimacy which continued through life.

With such display of rising talent, did he attend several of the literary and philosophic classes in the university. Meanwhile Dr. Darwin's *Zoonomia*, published at this time, was deeply exciting the interest of the learned, and was enjoying a degree of celebrity which has long since ceased. Dr. Brown perused the work with deep attention, and made on it such marginal annotations as occurred to him. These he afterwards began to draw out in a consecutive manner, with the view of their forming an article in some periodical publication. But the length to which they swelled, and the importance of the subject, suggested to him the propriety of forming them into a separate volume. This he accordingly did; but his work, entitled *Observations on Dr. Darwin's Zoonomia*, which was written in 1796, before he had completed his nineteenth year, was not published till 1798, when he had only reached the age of twenty. It was, however, far from being a juvenile performance; on the contrary, it has been very justly characterised "as the answer of a philosopher to a philosopher;" and it is questionable whether, in the whole history of philosophical writings, there occurs another instance of equal precocity of talents and attainments.

At the age of nineteen he took a part, with others, some of whom have become the most distinguished men of their time, in the institution, first of the Literary Society, which lasted only for a year, and then of the Academy of Physics, which terminated at the end of three years. This latter association is memorable chiefly on account of its having given birth to *The Edinburgh Review*. To this work, which began in 1802, several articles were contributed by Dr. Brown, worthy of the high character he had gained. But from circumstances, which involved blame nowhere, but perhaps evinced an over-delicacy on his part, his connexion with this journal ceased with the third number.

Of the profession which he meant to follow he had before this time made choice. In 1796, he commenced the study

of law, with the view of becoming a member of the Scots bar. But at the end of a single year, he intermitted this study, and commenced that of medicine. He went through the usual course of study preparatory to graduation from 1798 till 1803; in which latter year he obtained the degree of M. D. His thesis on this occasion was entitled *De Somno*, and dedicated to Dr. Gregory.

We have hitherto neglected to mention, that from his earliest youth he had been a votary of the muse. Amid his severer pursuits, he never neglected the study of poetry. In 1804 he gave to the world the first specimen of his poetical compositions, in two volumes, inscribed in most affectionate terms to his mother. They were of a miscellaneous and lyrical kind; and though characterised by real poetic feeling and imagery, their reception, like that of his subsequent poetical productions, was not flattering, and they are now nearly forgotten. Want of simplicity of language, over-refinement in all his conceptions, and the occasional predominance of abstruse thought, constitute the causes of his failure in what was ultimately his favourite study.

But he was soon engaged in works of a more lasting description. We refer in particular to the share he took in the controversy in regard to the appointment of Mr. Leslie to the chair of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh. An attempt was made by the church to prevent the election of this distinguished person in consequence of the approbation which, in a note in his *Essay on Heat*, he had bestowed on Hume's doctrine respecting causation. Dr. Brown's work, entitled, *Observations on the nature and tendency of the doctrine of Mr. Hume concerning the relation of Cause and Effect*, was published in 1805, and reprinted in the ensuing year, and the third edition of it, much enlarged and improved, appeared in 1818, under the name of *An Inquiry into the Relation of Cause and Effect*. Sir James Mackintosh has characterised this treatise as constituting "the finest model of discussion in mental philosophy since Berkeley and Hume." Dr. Brown published two other pamphlets on this occasion :

the one, *A short criticism of the Terms of the charge against Mr. Leslie, in the protest of the Ministers of Edinburgh*; the other, *An Examination of some Remarks in the reply of Dr. Inglis to Professor Playfair*.

From the time of receiving his diploma in 1803, he had practised as a physician, notwithstanding the philosophical studies in which he so largely engaged; and in 1806, he was associated in partnership with Dr. Gregory; a connexion highly honourable to him, particularly when we consider the character of the gentleman with whom it was formed.

But eminence as a physician was not the object towards which his ambition was most anxiously directed. Literary leisure, with a moderate competence, and literary distinction, were far dearer to him. An academic life he had hoped before this time to enjoy; and his peculiar qualifications and habits long pointed him out to his friends as fitted to adorn it. So early as 1799, when the chair of Rhetoric was vacant, he was a candidate for that office. But, though supported by the first literary men of the metropolis, he had the misfortune to suffer a defeat.

Though he had missed the chair of Rhetoric, he was not deterred by this circumstance from being a candidate for that of Logic, when it became vacant in 1803, on the death of Dr. Finlayson. But the same result, however undeservedly, followed.

Brighter views, however, even as to academical preferment, soon opened up to him. During the session of 1808-9, Mr. Stewart, in consequence of the gradual decline of his health, being unable to attend to the duties of his class, applied to his friend, the subject of this memoir, to fill his chair during his absence. Dr. Brown undertook the task; and for a short time supplied Mr. Stewart's place with original lectures written for the purpose. In the following year Mr. Stewart's state of health required his assistance for a much longer period; and Dr. Brown must have felt proud to afford it. He confined his lectures to three weekly; and these, he composed from day to day to answer the occasion: And yet they

were eminently distinguished for polish, ingenuity and eloquence. His mode of reading too, chaste and graceful to a degree unknown till his time in the University, added force to the delight with which his audience listened to his disquisitions. The lecture-room was crowded, not only with the ordinary students who were attending the class, but by men of advanced years and distinguished abilities, attracted thither by the fame of the rising philosopher.

Dr. Brown occupied the ethical chair for eight weeks previously to the 1st of March 1810 ; at which time Mr. Stewart resumed his lectures. And on its being announced that the former was to retire from the duties he had so admirably discharged, the class held a meeting, at which a committee was appointed to draw up and present an address to Mr. Stewart, congratulating him on his return to his official station, and requesting him to convey to Dr. Brown their high sense of the manner in which he had filled the chair as his substitute. The committee was composed of seven ; among whose names we find those of Lord John Russell, Lord Calthorpe, and T. F. Kennedy of Dunure.

This success on the part of Dr. Brown, was but the earnest of higher triumphs. At the end of the session of which we have been speaking, Mr. Stewart, from the declining and precarious state of his health, intimated to the town-council of Edinburgh, the patrons of the chair, his desire to have Dr. Brown elected his colleague in the professorship of moral philosophy. Of this application, so honourable both to Mr. Stewart and his distinguished friend, the result is well known. In May 1810, Dr. Brown was elected joint professor of moral philosophy.

On his appointment he retired to the country, where he continued for the benefit of his health, and without engaging in study, till within six weeks of the meeting of his class. When the college opened, he had made no addition to the number of lectures he had prepared during the preceding winter. Great exertions, therefore, were now required to be made. During the ensuing winter he was seldom in bed before two or

three o'clock in the morning; and some nights he did not retire to rest at all. He often continued writing till the hour arrived at which he had to appear before his class, with the paper in the composition of which he was engaged. Under these circumstances were about seventy lectures composed during the first year: the whole of the remaining ones, a hundred in all, were written either before the beginning of next course, or during its continuance. In revising lectures which had been prepared so hastily, he was surprised to find how unexceptionable they were, and what little improvement could be made upon them. These prelections he continued to read till his death, often improved, indeed, and enlarged, but still the original manuscript was retained; and when afterwards published to the world, they were printed from this copy.

Dr. Brown's views on many subjects involved in his lectures, were essentially different from those entertained by his colleague,—a circumstance which he confesses gave him great uneasiness. This was perhaps the cause of his henceforth devoting his time more to poetical composition than to philosophical studies. From the date of his appointment to the ethical chair, his publications, with the exception of his *Physiology*, were poetical, consisting of *The Paradise of Coquettes*, by far his best production as a poet; *The Wanderer in Norway*; *The War Fiend*; *The Bower of Spring*; *Agnes*, inscribed to the memory of his mother; and *Emily*. *The Paradise of Coquettes*, and *The Restoration of India*, have each undergone a second impression.

From an allusion in the foregoing paragraph, it is evident that Dr. Brown had meanwhile lost his mother. She died on the 3d of January 1817. He had ever regarded her with remarkable love and reverence: he watched over her in her last illness with extreme anxiety and sorrow: and the remembrance of all that she had been he cherished till the moment of his death with melancholy fondness. Her remains were first placed in a vault in Edinburgh; and, at the close of his college course, conveyed to the family burial-ground in the church-yard of Kirkmabreck, one of the most romantic and

secluded spots that can possibly be imagined, and, so far as I know, without a parallel in this country.

It was at this time that he paid a visit to the Rev. John Sibbald, the present minister of Kirkmabreck, who inhabits the very house, with some additions, in which Dr. Brown first saw the light. When he entered the chamber in which he was born, he covered his eyes with his handkerchief, and shed tears. At this period also he resided for some months at the manse of Balmaclellan, with Mr. and Mrs. Thomson, his sister and brother-in-law.

As this summer was happily spent at Balmaclellan, he was in the habit of retiring during the same season to the country for the benefit of his health, which had never been good. But few summers more it was his lot to enjoy: his brief but bright career was near a close. In the end of autumn 1819 he returned to town in apparently high health. In the country he had begun the composition and printing of his *Physiology*, which was meant for a text book; and as he was anxious that the work should appear as early as possible, he laboured at it on his return with such assiduity, that the exertion seems to have hastened his days. During the Christmas holidays, before which he had been complaining, he confined himself to the house, under the expectation that he should be enabled again to meet his class with his usual share of health. But his expectations were vain. He was unable to lecture till the 15th of January; on which occasion his subject unfortunately happened to be one which had always excited in him a great deal of emotion. The lecture to which I refer is No. xxxv; and "those," says the Rev. Dr. Welsh, his ingenious and elegant biographer, "who recollect the manner in which he always recited the very affecting lines from Beattie's *Hermit*, will not wonder that some who attended his last course should conceive that the emotion he displayed arose from a foreboding of his own approaching dissolution."

'Tis night, and the landscape is lovely no more:
I mourn, but ye woodlands, I mourn not for you;
For morn is approaching, your charms to restore,
Perfum'd with fresh fragrance, and glittering with dew.

Nor yet for the ravage of winter I mourn ;
 Kind Nature the embryo blossom will save.
But when shall Spring visit the mouldering urn ?
O ! when shall it dawn on the night of the grave ?

This was the last lecture he ever delivered. Dr. Gregory, who was now for the first time sent for, interdicted him from continuing his official duties. The late Mr. Stewart, lecturer on botany, officiated for him during the remainder of the session. His medical friends at length urged him to try the benefit of a voyage to London, and so soon as the season permitted, to remove to a milder climate. With this advice he seems reluctantly to have complied. " 'Tis very difficult," says he, " to convince my medical friends that there is such a disease as the love of one's country : many people really cannot be made to comprehend it. But," continued he, with a languid and melancholy smile, " there *is* such a disease—

'Nescio qua natale solum dulcedine captos
 Ducit, et inmemores non sinit esse sui.'

Non sinit ; how simply and beautifully expressive ; it will not let us forget it."

He sailed for London on the 5th of March, accompanied by his brother Major Brown, who never afterwards left him ; and Dr. Gregory, his never-failing friend, saw him on board at Leith. Soon after his arrival in London, his medical advisers there recommended him to go to Brompton, in the near neighbourhood of the city. The change seemed at first to revive him. But nothing could now arrest the progress of his disease. He lingered on, gradually becoming weaker, but still exhibiting his usual mildness and gentle resignation, till the 2d of April, when he breathed his last, without a sigh or a struggle. This event took place in the year 1820, in the forty-third year of his age. His remains were put in a leaden coffin, and laid, as he had directed, beside those of his father and mother, in his native parish.

As to his personal appearance, he was about the middle size, and of round make ; but his step did not show that firmness of

constitution which his figure otherwise might be supposed to indicate. His complexion, too, particularly during his last years, was pale and feminine; his features were full and regular; his eyes dark grey; his eye-lashes long; his nose a mixture of the Grecian and Roman; his forehead large, and his hair brown. The expression of his countenance did not convey the idea either of bodily strength or mental vigour; but was that of mildness and delicacy.

He died unmarried. He lived with his mother till her death in 1817; after which he and two unmarried sisters, (who had formerly also resided under their maternal roof), continued as before to live together.*

“The character of Dr. Brown,” to use the words of Sir James Mackintosh in his admirable *Dissertation* on the History of Metaphysical Science, prefixed to the first volume of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*,—“The character of Dr. Brown is very attractive, as an example of one in whom the utmost tenderness of affection, and the indulgence of a flowery fancy, were not repressed by the highest cultivation, and by a perhaps excessive refinement of intellect. His mind soared and roamed through every region of philosophy and poetry; but his untravelled heart clung to the hearth of his fathers, to the children who shared it with him; and, after them, first to the other partners of his childish sports, and then almost solely to those companions of his youthful studies who continued to be the friends of his life. Speculation seemed to keep his kindness at home. It is observable that, though sparkling with fancy, he does not seem to have been deeply or durably touched by those affections which are lighted at its torch, or at least tinged with its colours. His heart sought little abroad, but

* Of the numerous family to which Dr. Brown belonged, only two were married, namely, Dr. James Murray Brown, who settled in America, and died there, leaving a family behind him; and his oldest sister Dorothea, now the widow of the late Rev. James Thomson, minister of Balmaclellan. Mr. Thomson, descended of respectable parents in Wigtonshire, died on the 19th of March 1825, after having been minister of Balmaclellan upwards of thirty-three years. He was a man of the greatest respectability and worth of character, and deservedly held in high regard.

contentedly dwelt in his family and in his study. He was one of those men of genius who repaid the tender care of a mother by rocking the cradle of her reposing age. He ended a life spent in searching for truth, and exercising love, by desiring that he should be buried in his native parish with his "dear father and mother." Some of these delightful qualities were perhaps hidden from the casual observer in general society, by the want of that perfect simplicity of manners which is doubtless their natural representative."

His *Lectures* were published immediately after his death, extending to four octavo volumes. In this shape they underwent two impressions. They have since been stereotyped, and compressed in one dense volume; in which form they have gone through various editions. The favourable reception which this work has obtained, and the proud place among metaphysical writings which has been assigned to it, could the author have foreseen it, would have afforded him unspeakable delight; for he was passionately fond of literary glory. He was perhaps, indeed, over-jealous on this subject,—a feeling, for example, which led him to ascribe his want of success as a poet to causes which had no connexion with it.

Of the character of his philosophical views we have not time to speak; nor, in a work like the present, is it necessary. The subject, as may easily be conceived, has given rise to variety of opinion: and in the consideration of it due candour and impartiality have not always, perhaps, been displayed. For an analysis of his views, the reader is referred to his *Life*, admirably written by Dr. Welsh; but particularly to that part of Sir James Mackintosh's *Dissertation* which treats of Dr. Brown. This article, were it not for its length, we would have presented to our readers; for, so far as it goes, it is undoubtedly one of the most dignified and masterly pieces of composition connected with the science to which it refers.

But these *Lectures*, though, both as to language and matter, they labour under all the disadvantages incident to a posthumous work, so candidly pointed out by Sir James Mackintosh, are distinguished by the highest merits. "For meta-

physical acuteness," says Dr. Welsh, "profound and liberal views, refined taste, varied learning, and philosophical eloquence, all under the guidance of a spirit breathing the purest philanthropy and piety, they may challenge comparison with any work that ever was published; and though the admirers of Dr. Brown may regret that they should not have received his last corrections, the circumstance is of little real importance, either to their value or his fame; for it may safely be predicted that, even in their present form, they will always continue a splendid monument of his academical exertions, and be considered one of the most valuable accessions that ever was made to the philosophy of mind."

CHAPTER XXIII.

LIFE OF THOMAS, EARL OF SELKIRK.

OF the family from which THOMAS DOUGLAS, EARL OF SELKIRK, was descended, Lord Basil Hamilton, sixth son of the Duke of Hamilton, was the first connected with Galloway. He married Mary, heiress of Sir David Dunbar of Baldoon, by which union he became possessed of large estates both in Wigtonshire and in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. This amiable and accomplished young man came to an untimely end at the early age of thirty. His brother the Earl of Selkirk and himself, with a servant, were crossing the Minnoch, a small stream in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, which at that time was much swollen; when the servant having become entangled in the river, Lord Basil, who had previously gained the opposite bank, rushed in to rescue his attendant from his perilous situation. The unhappy result was that both master and servant were drowned. This took place in August 1701. In the Advocates Library are preserved three doggerel poems occasioned by his death; from which, as well as from more authentic sources, we learn the respectability of his character, and the deep interest he had taken in the unfortunate Scots settlement at Darien.

He laid his projects still to raise our trade,
 In foreign colonies our fame to spread.
 For Caledonia's injured settlement
 With just resentment to the court he went,

And that with great expense, yet did decline
 To be repaid for either cost or time.
 Thus brave and generous did he live and die,
 And shrunk away in boundless charity.

His widow survived him nearly sixty years, having died in 1760, at the age of eighty-four. Of their children, four in number, the oldest dying young, the family was long represented by Basil Hamilton the second son. On his death in 1742, he was succeeded by his son Dunbar Hamilton, who, in 1744, became heir to his grand-uncle the Earl of Selkirk; on which occasion he assumed the name of Douglas.* He was father of the distinguished nobleman, whose life we now purpose shortly to trace.

Thomas Douglas, though he afterwards succeeded his father as Earl of Selkirk, was the youngest of seven sons, of whom only two died in infancy: five reached the age of manhood. The name of one of these, Basil William, (the second Lord Daer,) must not be passed over in silence. He has been celebrated by Burns, but there are traits and excellencies in his character, of which the poet was not aware. Having visited the Continent, he became an admirer of the principles which led to the French Revolution. He enjoyed the acquaintance of Rochefoucault, Condorcet, Lavoisier, and other distinguished men abroad. At home, he became a member of the Society of the Friends of the People, and was a zealous and persevering advocate for parliamentary reform. These sentiments indeed were, in a greater or less degree, those of his father and brothers; but from the energy of his character and his distinguished talents, he occupied a space in public attention to which none of his family attained. According to the law as it then existed, and still obtains, the

* The first Earl of Selkirk was a younger son of the first Marquis of Douglas; who, having married the heiress of the Dukedom of Hamilton, and having been elevated for life to that title, resigned his Earldom into the hands of the king. This latter peerage was, in 1688, revived in the person of his third son with the precedence of the original creation. (1646.) Dunbar Hamilton of Baldoon, who, as stated in the text, succeeded to the title of Selkirk, was great grandson of the Duke of Hamilton first referred to.

oldest son of a Scots peer cannot, like those of the English or Irish nobility, have a seat in the Commons House of parliament. This disability he regarded as absurd and unjust; and he made an attempt to get it removed. He formally claimed his right to be put on the roll of freeholders in the Stewartry of Kirkeudbright, and a majority of the electors having supported that claim, the minority, instead of acquiescing, carried the question before the Court of Session. That judicatory, and subsequently the House of Lords, reversed the decision to which the electors had come, and continued the disability of which he so justly complained.

But however enlightened, or superior to his age, were the political views of this eminent person, his name is better known to us in a department of less publicity perhaps, but of not less importance. We refer to his public-spirited exertions as an agricultural improver. In 1786, his father transferred to him the uncontrolled management of his estates;*

* Lord Daer was aware that even the best cultivated lands were susceptible of great amelioration, and afforded ample scope for the exercise of agricultural skill. Having made himself master of the state of his father's affairs, and having resolved to dispose of the barony of Baldoon, the nature of this sale is so honourable to his Lordship's abilities, that we cannot resist mentioning it. The lands were sold to the late Earl of Galloway for a price founded on a rental of L.5000; and it was farther stipulated that Lord Daer should retain a lease of the estate for ten years, at a rent of L.7000 per annum; that at the expiration of that time, the lands were to be valued by arbiters mutually chosen; and that Lord Galloway should pay twenty-five years purchase of the full surplus valued rent above L.5000. This negotiation was concluded about the year 1793. Unfortunately, the enlightened improvements and experiments which Lord Daer contemplated, he was not destined to live to superintend. But every thing he had suggested was, so far as was possible, carried into effect. Not only was the sum, realized from the estate by skilful management, soon found sufficient to meet the payment of rent; but on the termination of the lease, the value of the property was ascertained to have been enhanced in so surprising a degree, that Lord Galloway had to pay an additional sum of no less than L.125,000! This result was not more honourable to the penetration and talents of Lord Daer, than the mode in which the money was disposed of is honourable to the benevolence and liberality of his brother, Thomas, Earl of Selkirk, the subject of this sketch. It was not till about the year 1806 that the transaction in question was finally adjusted. At that time Lord Selkirk had four

and “the ardour with which he turned his powerful mind to the investigation of every subject connected with rural economy, was only equalled by the perseverance and ability which he displayed in the practical execution of his plans. In the management of his father’s estates, he set an example of enlightened liberality; and his influence was most zealously extended in promoting every public measure of utility. Roads and bridges, as the great ground-work of other improvements, were early the objects of his most anxious attention. The unexampled success with which he applied himself to this branch of rural economy, and the spirit and judgment which he displayed with regard to farms, houses, and useful and ornamental plantations,” were quite extraordinary, if not altogether unprecedented in Scotland.* Had his valuable life been prolonged, he would undoubtedly have become one of the most distinguished noblemen of whom this country ever could boast. But his days were doomed to be few. Amid his public-spirited exertions as a landholder, and his speculations as a politician, he was carrying about with him the seeds of that disease which, as has been beautifully said, “indulges hopes of life at the moment when it destroys it.” The melancholy truth is, he died of consumption, deeply and universally regretted, on the 5th November 1794, at the early age of thirty-two. This event took place at Ivy Bridge, Devonshire, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health; and his remains were interred at Exeter.

He was succeeded, as Lord Daer, by his younger brother, John, a member of the Scots bar; and he also having died in early life—Thomas, the subject of this brief sketch, the seventh and only surviving son, became, in 1797, heir-apparent to the honours of his family; at which, on the death of his venerable father, he arrived in the month of May 1799.

This nobleman was born in the month of June 1771. Hav-

sisters alive, to whom he was warmly attached; and instead of appropriating the large sum in question to his own use, dividing it into five shares, he presented a share to each of his sisters, and only retained the remaining one for himself.

* The Rev. Mr. Smith’s *Agric. Survey of Galloway*.

ing received in England an education becoming his rank, he finished his studies at the university of Edinburgh. He afterwards travelled for two years on the continent; and on his return, being meant for a country life, and having perhaps imbibed a love for rural pursuits from his brother, of whom we have already spoken, he studied agriculture under Mr. Culley, an eminent farmer in Northumberland. Nor was it long till he had an opportunity of carrying into effect the knowledge which he had acquired. He received from his father one of his best farms; Kirkechrist in the vicinity of Kirkeudbright. He lived on it in a house built for himself, of a kind not superior to the more respectable class of such buildings. He entered with enthusiasm on the duties of a farmer: he was distinguished by that energy and ardour of character for which his brother Basil William had been so remarkable: and he afforded an example of enlightened management and enterprising improvements at that time uncommon at least, if not entirely unknown in that part of the country. But having succeeded his father as Earl of Selkirk in 1799, a new and more enlarged sphere of action was opened up to him, of which he did not fail very soon to avail himself. Instead of spending his time or dissipating his means in inglorious ease or giddy pleasure, in imitation of too many persons of his station in society, he on the contrary devoted all his resources and energies to the good of his species, and to the promotion of laudable objects.

Soon after his succession to the peerage, he took an active interest in the state of the highlands of Scotland, (a district of country, which, during the course of his academical studies, he had frequently visited; and he had thus acquired a thorough knowledge of the interesting character of its inhabitants, and had even made some progress in learning their language,) particularly in regard to the extensive emigrations which were taking place from that quarter of the kingdom. The feudal system in the highlands had gradually been giving way since the rebellion of 1745. The object of landlords in these rude regions soon became, not the number of dependants they could support on

their estates, but how to turn these estates, in a pecuniary point of view, to the best advantage : not to multiply families, but to increase the produce of their lands. The system of large farms having been introduced, the small occupiers were dispossessed. These persons, attached by birth to the possession of land, almost invariably, in their unhappy circumstances, preferred emigrating to America, where land could be got in abundance, to remaining at home, and dwindling down into the rank, degraded in their eyes, of day-labourers or mechanics. The States of America was their usual destination : British America was seldom their choice. Lord Selkirk, perceiving this, and learning that, while persons of the hardy nature and industrious habits of the highlanders, were settling in a foreign country, which might one day become hostile to us, our own colonies were not unfrequently the resort of individuals of depraved characters or of dangerous political sentiments, stepped forward to check this evil, and to turn the tide of emigration into a different channel. It was his decided opinion, as stated in his work on *Emigration*, that “ our own colonies should be peopled by men whose manners and principles are consonant to our own government.” His object was not so much to encourage emigration ; but since this step was necessary, to give it that turn which might render it advantageous alike to our colonies and the mother country ; for he was fully aware of the principle, that emigration has no tendency ultimately to decrease population, as the void it occasions constitutes a stimulus to the remaining inhabitants, (of which they never fail to avail themselves,) speedily to fill it up.

He was not a man to form a resolution, and not to carry it into effect. Having purchased a large tract of waste land on Prince Edward's Island, in the gulf of St. Lawrence, he undertook to occupy it with emigrants from the highlands, who had been previously destined for the United States. This he at length accomplished. Three ships, containing altogether about 800 persons, reached the island in August 1803. He himself arrived a few days after them. He directed and superintended, in person, the steps necessary

to be taken by the infant colony, namely, examining the lands, laying them out in small lots, building cottages, and other such operations. “The settlers,” says he in his excellent work already referred to, “had every incitement to vigorous exertion from the nature of their tenures. They were allowed to purchase in fee-simple, and to a certain extent, on credit: from fifty to an hundred acres were allowed to each family at a very moderate price, but none was given gratuitously. To accommodate those who had no superfluity of capital, they were not required to pay the price in full till the third or fourth year of their possession; and, in this time, an industrious man might have it in his power to discharge the debt out of the produce of the land itself.” The same principle was adopted in the distribution of provisions. Nothing was given in charity. “And thus,” says his lordship, “the proud spirit that characterised the ancient highlander was carefully cherished among them: the near prospect of independence was kept constantly within their view, to stimulate their exertions, and support them in every difficulty.”

Lord Selkirk, having left his colony to the charge of a confidential agent, visited the continent of America; and having made an extensive tour there, returned at the end of a twelve-month, to the island, where he found every thing, with little exception, satisfactory and prosperous. He soon after sailed for England, where he arrived in the spring of 1805.

Soon after his return, he published *Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland, with a view to the causes and probable consequences of Emigration*. This work, though written to serve a temporary object, is composed with such ability and science as to be of a permanent character; and it will ever constitute a favourable memorial of the expansive and patriotic views of its author. He seems to have been intimately acquainted with the works of Adam Smith, Malthus, and other eminent political economists; and though a very ingenious pamphlet, under the title of *Strictures and Remarks on the Earl of Selkirk's Observations, &c.*, was published by Mr. Robert Brown, yet it may be safely pronounced

that none of his lordship's views have been repelled, and that they are unanswerable.

Lord Selkirk, for some time after this date, was not engaged in any public enterprise. But he was not a man to remain idle. By his influence and example, he was, in his native county, teaching sound principles of agriculture. He was one of the presidents of the Stewartry Agricultural Society, established in 1809; and it was on his suggestion, that the late Rev. Samuel Smith of Borgue, undertook to draw up *The Agricultural Survey of Galloway*.

In 1808, he was nominated one of the sixteen representative peers of Scotland; and in the same year, was elected a member of the Royal Society of London. In the House of Lords, he made several respectable appearances as a speaker; and on one occasion he published a speech *On the defence of the country*, delivered by him in that assembly. But he was not fitted to become an eminent parliamentary orator. His knowledge was correct and minute, and his views were sound. But he was distinguished by uncommon diffidence, and laboured under a slight defect in his utterance: circumstances that imparted considerable hesitation to his speech in public assemblies. In the same year, he gave to the world a pamphlet on the subject that his published speech had embraced, namely, the establishment of a permanent local militia; a project which was afterwards carried into effect. Of this pamphlet the title was *The Necessity of a more effectual system of Military Defence, and the means of establishing the permanent security of the kingdom*. He also printed a tract *On the Scottish Peerage*; but this production I have not had an opportunity of seeing.

Lord Selkirk had been educated in the Whig school of politics; and the attachment which he must have felt for the hereditary principles of his family, must have been not a little enhanced in his eyes by the part which his brother Basil William had taken in public affairs. These sentiments, however sacred they may have appeared to him from this view, he was induced to abandon, and to adopt those of a contrary tendency.

But it must not be forgotten that, though he laid aside the principles of his family and his youth, and attached himself to that party which, till of late, has long guided the councils of the nation, he never became a violent party-politician, or showed any wish, as is too often the case in similar circumstances, to expose or slander the friends from whom he had withdrawn. In 1809, he published *A Letter to John Cartwright, Esq.* recalling his sentiments on Parliamentary Reform; and whether the reasons he assigns for his change of views be considered as the result of prejudice, or of sound induction, we cannot but admit the candid manner in which they are stated. "I have had an opportunity," says he, "which my honoured relations never had, of seeing [in the United States,] the practical application of those principles from which we expected consequences so beneficial. With grief and mortification I perceived that no such advantages had resulted as from theory I had been led to anticipate."

He remained a bachelor till 1807; on the 24th day of November of which year he was most happily married to Jane, only daughter of James Wedderburn Colville, Esq., brother of the late Sir John Wedderburn of Ballindean, Bart.

But Lord Selkirk, notwithstanding his important engagements in his native country, and the part he took in public affairs, had not withdrawn his views entirely from the New World, or ceased to take an interest in colonization. His settlement on Prince Edward's Island was prospering as well as he could reasonably have expected. But he aimed at something still higher, as the founder of a colony, than he had yet reached; and from the time he arrived from America, he had undoubtedly been laying and maturing his plans for this purpose. In 1811, he obtained from the Hudson's Bay Company (of whose stock he had previously purchased one-third,) an extensive grant of land within their territories, for the purpose of establishing an agricultural colony upon the same principles as those he had adopted in his former settlement. The validity of this grant was guaranteed by the opinion of the most able English counsel. The situation selected for

his settlement was on the banks of the Red River, at fifty degrees of north latitude, and ninety-seven west longitude, about fifty miles from the entrance of that stream into Lake Winnipeg. The land is level, fertile, and comparatively free of wood. The river abounds with fish; the extensive plains with buffalo; and the woods with elk, deer, and game. In summer the climate, which is undoubtedly salubrious, is hot, inasmuch that melons thrive in the open air; but in winter the thermometer has been known to sink 50° below zero. The place, besides, whatever its productiveness, was regarded by some as not well fitted for an infant colony. It is surrounded by native Indians, and does not enjoy the command of a market, being distant 700 miles from the nearest fort on Hudson's Bay, and not less than 1500 from any inhabited spot in Upper Canada. Of these circumstances his Lordship was fully aware, and in his calculations he allowed them all the weight to which they were entitled. But he was also aware that the Red River was the head-quarters of the numerous inland traders employed by the Hudson's Bay Company; and that the provisions and other articles required for their support had to be brought from a great distance, even, in many instances, from the mother country. This, therefore, he regarded as a market already prepared for the disposable produce of his contemplated colony; and he hoped that the settlers would ere long be able, not only to secure to themselves all the necessaries of life, but to supply the demand, on the part of that great company, to which I have referred.

Such was the nature of the place chosen by Lord Selkirk for his new colony. In the autumn of 1812, the year after he had obtained the grant, the Hudson's Bay Company appointed Mr. Miles Macdonell governor of Ossiniboia, the district in which the settlement was to be formed; and his lordship nominated the same gentleman to superintend the colony, and take charge of the settlers. In the beginning of 1813, the colony could boast of a hundred persons; and in the end of the following year, that number was doubled. Other emigrants, chiefly, like the rest, from the highlands of Scotland, were on their way to join

their countrymen; and the settlers, having surmounted most of the difficulties incident to a new colony, were flattering themselves with the near prospect of prosperity and happiness. But never were expectations so miserably disappointed. The circumstances, however, which led to this unhappy result, as they belong rather to the many-coloured history of America, than to that of the founder of the Red River colony, can here merely be adverted to, not detailed.

The north-west fur traders of Montreal, proceeding on the belief that colonization, under any circumstances, would be fatal to their monopoly, resolved, the instant they heard of Lord Selkirk's intended settlement, not only that it should not succeed, but that it should be destroyed. So soon as they were informed of its successful establishment, they took the most violent and unwarrantable means to carry their determination into effect. They stationed representatives, worthy of their mission, in the immediate vicinity of the infant colony. These gained over to their purposes the native Indians and the Brulés or half-breeds, both of whom were at first favourably disposed to their new neighbours; and so unwearied were they in the discharge of the wretched duties assigned to them, that, in 1815, by threats, misrepresentations, and bloodshed, they dispersed the settlers, and seized upon or destroyed their effects.

The emissaries of the north-west company, flattering themselves that the obnoxious colony was for ever destroyed, returned to Upper Canada, carrying with them no fewer than a hundred and thirty-four of the settlers from the Red River; and on their arrival, were received with great respect and gratitude by the Company, whose undisguised wishes they had been carrying into effect. But unfortunately for the character of that body, the expectations they had entertained respecting the final overthrow of the settlement were frustrated. The unhappy individuals, who had escaped, and taken refuge at the north of Lake Winnipeg, at a station belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company, ventured to return in the ensuing spring, and were soon joined by a new detachment of emigrants, chiefly from the highlands of Scotland; so that, in 1816, the colony con-

tained upwards of two hundred settlers. The north-west Company, having re-appointed the same representatives again to repair to their former station in the near vicinity of the infant settlement, showed their unaltered determination to extirpate it. Nor were their sanguinary intentions long in being carried into execution. In the month of June 1816, the colony was attacked by the agents of the north-west company; and Mr. Semple, (who had succeeded Mr. Macdonell as governor of the district,) with twenty-one of the settlers, were slain; while only one on the side of the aggressors was killed; and the colony was thus a second time destroyed. Even in the history of the Spanish colonization of the New World, there occurs no event of a more treacherous and sanguinary kind than the destruction of the Red River settlement, and the murder of the persons who composed it.

Lord Selkirk, meanwhile, was not idle. He was not in America when the new colony was planted; but on being informed that its prosperity was endangered, or its existence threatened, he lost no time in repairing to that continent. But it was too late, as on his arrival at New York, towards the end of the year 1815, he was told of its destruction. He instantly repaired to Canada to stimulate the provincial government to institute judicial proceedings. He was engaged in prosecuting this object, when information reached him that the settlers who had escaped, had returned to the colony, and had been joined by a fresh body of emigrants from Scotland. His lordship thought it his duty to hasten to the spot, to afford them that countenance and protection which they had reason to expect at his hands. Taking with him a party of new settlers, he was proceeding to the Red River, when he received the account of the murder of Governor Semple, and the extirpation of the colony. Never was any individual placed in more trying circumstances. But every obstacle, however unexpected or melancholy, instead of discouraging him in the prosecution of his design, appears to have had the very contrary tendency. Having spent the winter at Fort William, where he arrested several of the partners or servants of the north-west Company, that had been

concerned in the death of Mr. Semple, and in the destruction of the new settlement, he pursued his journey into the interior in spring, and arrived at the Red River in June 1817. Several of the old settlers, hearing that his lordship was in America, had ventured to return; he had sent a few emigrants before him, and had taken with him an additional small party; and fresh detachments soon after arrived. The colony resumed with renewed vigour their agricultural labours, under better auspices than before: his Lordship, making every needful arrangement, and affording them every encouragement in his power, continued with them for a few months, when he bade them adieu, and returned to Canada. While in this latter colony, he again exerted himself to force the government to institute the necessary investigations, both into his own conduct, which had been grossly misrepresented, and into the crimes and murders that had twice led to the destruction of the settlement. But in this laudable object he was lamentably unsuccessful. No representation, no application on his part was treated with becoming respect. His motives, his conduct, his intentions, as well as those of his friends and adherents, were suspected or calumniated. Garbled statements were despatched home to the parent government; and though his lordship during the whole time he was in America courted or demanded investigation; and though, both during that period and afterwards, he made the same application to the British government, yet obstacles seem voluntarily to have been thrown in the way. Some preliminary or superficial steps indeed were taken in Canada; and no fewer than thirty-eight individuals connected with the north-west Company had been indicted by the grand juries of Montreal for murder. Yet few of these were ultimately brought to trial; and the legal steps that should have been taken, pursuant to the verdict of the grand juries, were studiously, and against every remonstrance on the part of Lord Selkirk, avoided by the colonial government. And the result is, that the important question respecting the two successive outrages committed at the Red River, and the proceedings of his lordship consequent on these, so far as judicial investigation is concerned, either at

home or in Canada, is yet undetermined. Now that this distinguished nobleman is no more, History is beginning to step forward, and to perform to his memory that duty which the British and Canadian governments ought to have discharged during his life.

Having left America, after a distracted and busy residence there of three years, he landed in England about the beginning of 1819. During his absence, namely in 1816, he had published a *Sketch of the British fur trade in North America, with observations relative to the north-west company of Montreal*; a pamphlet containing a severe exposure of the proceedings and character of that body. That this exposure was not unmerited is evident from the fact that no reply was attempted to be made to it, either by the company or any person in their name. In 1817, his friends in Britain gave to the world a *Statement respecting the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement upon the Red River, in North America; its destruction in 1815 and 1816, &c.* This *Statement* was partly occasioned by a pamphlet published in the same year, on the part of the Montreal Company, entitled *A Narrative of Occurrences in the Indian countries of North America, since the connexion of the Right Honourable the Earl of Selkirk with the Hudson's Bay Company, &c.* In that year also, Mr. John Halkett, brother-in-law to Lord Selkirk,* transmitted a copy of the *Statement* to Earl Bathurst, at the head of the Colonial Department; and at the same time commenced a correspondence with the colonial office, respecting his celebrated friend, and his enterprises in America, which continued at intervals for nearly two years, and which is highly honourable to the character, judgment, and talents of the writer. Lord Selkirk himself, soon after his return to England, stepped forward in his own cause. He addressed *A Letter to the Earl of Liverpool*, dated 19th March, 1819, and accompanied by Mr Halkett's correspondence with Lord Bathurst. "The subject," says the author, "properly

* Mr. Halkett and Lord Selkirk were also cousins, their mothers having been sisters; namely, daughters of the Hon. John Hamilton, second son of Thomas, Earl of Haddington.

belongs to the Colonial Department ; but the conduct of that Department, with respect to the matters in question, for more than three years past, while I was absent in America, has been such that I can have little expectation of redress from that quarter ; and I feel it necessary, therefore, to appeal to your lordship, at the head of his majesty's government." To this *Letter* was added an appendix, consisting of informations, affidavits, and official letters, addressed by Lord Selkirk to the governor-general of Canada.*

Amid the harassing and laborious duties to which he had been so long exposed, his health had begun to fail ; and symptoms of that disease, which had already proved fatal to several of his family, appeared. Owing to the advice of his medical attendants, he resolved to spend the winter of 1819-20, on the continent ; whither he went at the end of harvest, accompanied by Lady Selkirk, who had also been his constant companion during his residence in America. He spent the winter at Pau, in the south of France. But nothing could arrest the progress of his disease. He breathed his last on the 8th of April 1820 before he had completed the forty-ninth year of his age. His remains were interred in the Protestant burial-ground at Pau. He left behind him three children, a son and two daughters. The character of Lady Selkirk, as a wife and a mother, is above all praise.

As to stature, Lord Selkirk was fully six feet in height, rather of slender form, with a gentle stoop in his gait. His hair was of an auburn colour, approaching to red ; his face rather long ; his forehead high ; his countenance mild and benignant. Though he was capable of undergoing great fatigue, he never was very athletic. In his social intercourse with the

* To the publications mentioned in the text, as also to *A Letter to the Earl of Selkirk, on his Settlement at the Red River, near Hudson's Bay*, by John Strachan, D. D. Rector of York, Upper Canada, which appeared in London in 1816, and to *Narratives of John Pritchard, Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun, and Frederick Damien Heuster, respecting the aggressors of the North West Company, against the Earl of Selkirk's Settlement upon Red River*, published in London in 1819, we are indebted for the information on which Lord Selkirk's American history is founded.

world, he was distinguished by complaisance and courteousness of manners; which were always marked by a modesty, not unfrequently bordering on diffidence, most amiable under any circumstances, but not usual and perhaps more amiable in his Lordship's rank of life.

Lord Selkirk's character is of the highest kind. He may be denominated a projector; but that term is applicable to him only in its best sense. His plans of colonization, instead of being rashly adopted, were the result of reflection and judgment, as well as of an ardent imagination and a benevolent heart; and though of great magnitude, involving much expense, were so admirably formed that, so far as he was concerned, they met with no interruption, but, on the contrary, he was prepared, at every step, to meet the demands that might be made on him. The interruption to which unfortunately they were exposed, was attributable, not to any miscalculation or imprudence on his part, but to the illegal and disgraceful opposition he experienced at the hands of a grasping and interested company. His ardour and perseverance in the pursuit of any object on which he had fixed his heart, were altogether uncommon, and seem to have increased in proportion to the extent of the obstacles with which he had to contend. His conduct in Canada was firm, considerate, dignified, independent, business-like; of which his letters to the governor of Upper Canada, and to the governor-general of Canada, afford admirable specimens. He may, we confess, have adopted some hasty and apparently equivocal steps; but the circumstances in which the conduct of his enemies had placed him, not only warranted them, but loudly called for them.

He was himself not only a man of genius, but an enthusiastic admirer of genius in others. The late Professor Dugald Stewart was, during his lordship's life, his intimate and affectionate friend. Of learning and merit he was disposed to be the patron. His habits were literary. His acquirements in mathematical science were great: his reading in every department extensive: his knowledge of the fine arts minute and correct: his taste fine: his compositions logical, ingenious,

and elegant. He was, on the whole, a man of a gentle nature, distinguished, not merely by his talents, but by benevolence and liberality: and he enjoyed the respect, the confidence, or admiration of all within the extensive sphere, either of his personal acquaintance, or of his influence.

I cannot close this memoir without mentioning, what must be agreeable to every reader, that the two rival companies in the fur trade, namely, those of Hudson's Bay and Montreal, have, since the death of Lord Selkirk, been united; that the colony of the Red River consists of upwards of 4000 settlers, provided with resident magistrates, a clergyman, and a surgeon; that it is happy and prosperous, answering the most sanguine expectations which its enlightened founder ever ventured to form of it; and that I have reason to believe that his Lordship's speculations in the Hudson's Bay Stock, combined with the revenues derived from his settlements in North America, while his name will be honourably perpetuated there in connexion with the history of colonization and the progress of society, are affording ample proofs of his foresight, penetration, and wisdom.

CHAPTER XXIV.

LIFE OF JOHN MACTAGGART.

JOHN MACTAGGART, or M'TAGGART, was born at Lennox-Plunton, in the parish of Borgue, on the 26th of June 1797. His father, Mr. James M'Taggart, was tenant of that farm; his mother was Mary Sproat, both parents being connected with the oldest families in their rank of life in Galloway. "My father," says Mr. Mactaggart in his *Gallovidian Encyclopædia*, where he gives an account of his early life, "is a farmer, and throughout my pilgrimage on earth, from the cradle till this moment, I have never met with any whom I considered had so much native strength of intellect." This respectable person is still alive, and highly merits, I believe, the character given of him by his son. But his wife died in 1829, after having been the parent of eleven children, of whom John was the third.

Being at a considerable distance from the parish school, the subject of this sketch received his elementary education at home from a young man who was employed as domestic tutor. Mr. M'Taggart and a neighbouring farmer engaged this juvenile teacher in common, and he remained half of his time with one of his employers and the remainder with the other; "so," says John, "my sisters and I went to this farmer's house, and were taught along with his family, and they came to us in return." He complained at this time, as he did ever

afterwards, of the severe corporal punishment arbitrarily inflicted by his successive teachers on their pupils. I regard the practice on which this just complaint is founded, as equally cruel, inexpedient, and unwarrantable. This is not a place for entering on the discussion of this subject; but I cannot resist the opportunity, now afforded me, of referring the reader to a most interesting and important work, entitled, *Principles of Elementary Education, chiefly in reference to the Parochial Schools of Scotland*, by Professor Pillans; a gentleman to whom the cause of education in Scotland is more indebted than perhaps to any other individual.

He afterwards attended Borgue academy for some time previously to 1805, at which date his father removed from Plunton to Torrs, a farm in the parish of Kirkeudbright. Being four miles from the excellent seminaries in the burgh of that name, he attended a small school in the neighbourhood of Torrs, taught by Mr. Caig; "and if," says he, "I have any learning or any genius about me, to this man am I indebted for their improvement." He was afterwards sent to the academy of Kirkeudbright, where he studied mathematics; and though he was often prevented from regular attendance owing to the nature of the weather and other circumstances, yet, at the examination, "he laid all the school below him, and so obtained the premium." He afterwards commenced the study of French. He was, even at this early age, fond of desultory reading, and entertained an absurd aversion to tasks.

He now, being in his thirteenth year, left school "with disgust." Many occupations he contemplated; but being partial to that of a printer, he wrote successively to three different persons in that line, offering himself as an apprentice; but none of them deigned to take notice of his application. He now began to feel "a melancholy working in him, which he often thought was going to upset his mind altogether," but of which, as he advanced in life, he got comparatively free. Notwithstanding his having left school so early and abruptly, he still entertained an invincible love for books. A friend lent him a copy of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*; and "I gathered,"

says he, "ten times more out of that book than I did at the College of Edinburgh."

Tired of rural occupations, he entered the university of Edinburgh in 1817. He had as yet no decided plan of life: but as mathematics and physical science were his favourite pursuits, he studied these branches. He returned to Edinburgh during the subsequent session of College. But he states, that he "never received any good from attending the university. I was there told nothing but what I had before gathered."

He did not, in consequence, again enter the university or repeat his visit to Edinburgh, but remained at home, for a few years, employed in agricultural pursuits. His habits still continued to be literary, and it was at this time that he composed his *Encyclopædia*. He resolved at length to set out for London to endeavour to find some occupation by which he might gain a livelihood. Owing to recommendations and letters of introduction, he soon obtained, on his arrival in that city, employment in giving private lessons to young gentlemen in mathematics; a mode of life in which he was very successful.

It was at this time, (1824), that he published *The Scottish Gallovidian Encyclopædia, or the Original, Antiquated, and Natural Curiosities of the South of Scotland; containing Sketches of Eccentric Characters and Curious Places, with explanations of singular Words, Terms, and Phrases; interspersed with Poems, Tales, Anecdotes, &c. and various other strange matters; the whole illustrative of the ways of the Peasantry and manners of Caledonia*. This is one of the most singular works that ever issued from any press. It is unlike the production of a person of reading and education. The language in which it is written is of a most capricious description, being more Scotch than English, and richly bestudded with all the provincial words and phrases of which he could avail himself. No character, no maxim, no custom peculiar to his native province, has he left unexplored or unexplained. In this book, however, there are many things of a personal nature which the author, it is supposed, afterwards regretted. He seems to have stated his

opinions in the most reckless way, unconcerned whether the feelings of the individuals to whom they referred, or of their friends, were injured. In one or two instances this is the case in a lamentable degree. Yet there is in this work much to praise. The object, which the author had in view in composing it, is laudable; and it contains much information not elsewhere to be found. "This work," says he, "will be found in many a rustic library of the south of Scotland, scores of years after I am in the grave. It will be a book that will never create much noise, yet still it will not be in a hurry forgotten." It is dedicated "to all honest and warm-hearted Gallovidians."

About this time he, in company with a friend from Scotland, started a weekly newspaper, under the name of *The London Scotsman*. What character this paper promised to assume I have not learned. But in the course of four or five weeks after the undertaking was begun, the printer of it having his press and materials arrested for debts which had been previously contracted, it was stopt, and never resumed.

But he soon obtained employment more congenial to his mind than he had yet experienced. He was employed in the capacity of engineer to a gas company; in which capacity he was sent to France to make observations in that line throughout the largest towns of that country. And early in the year 1826, Mr. Rennie, the engineer, having been applied to by government to furnish a clerk of works to the Rideau canal, in Upper Canada, then about to be commenced, Mr. Mactaggart was selected as a proper person to fill this situation. Having undertaken the arduous duties attached to it, he left England in the month of June of the same year, and proceeded to the scene of his important operations.

The Rideau canal is meant to connect the river Ottawa and Lake Ontario, and is to extend over a space of one hundred and sixty miles through an uncleared wilderness. In time of war, it was found extremely dangerous, if not impossible, to get stores dragged up the St. Lawrence, to supply our forces on the lakes. That river forming the boundary between the United States and Canada, our transports suffered no more

from the rapids than from the enemy. To remove this obstacle, the Rideau canal was proposed to be constructed. Immediately on his arrival, Mr. Mactaggart was ordered to make a survey of the line along which the canal was to extend; a commission which, after great fatigue, he executed to the perfect satisfaction of Lieutenant-Colonel By, his commanding officer. He was also busily employed in treating with contractors, giving instructions to the workmen, and superintending the operations. While he discharged his professional duties with exemplary care, he ventured occasionally to extend his researches beyond the limits within which his official labours confined him: he made various excursions into the interior of the country; and at one time he went so far as to visit the Falls of Niagara. But amid his great exertions, both official and otherwise, he was seized with a dangerous fever in the summer of 1828, and his health in other respects had suffered from the malaria of the swampy wastes, to which he had necessarily been exposed. With a view of deriving benefit from the change of climate and his native air, he obtained leave to return to England; and the following letter, dated 5th August 1828, addressed by his commanding officer to general Mann of the Board of Ordnance, shews how highly his official character was appreciated, and in what estimation he was held.

“ I have the honour to state, that Mr. Mactaggart, clerk of works at the Rideau canal, is so much recovered of a dangerous fever as to enable him to return to England according to order. And I beg leave to report, that I have found him a man of strong natural abilities, well-grounded in the practical part of his profession, and a zealous, hard-working man in the field.

“ I most respectfully recommend him to your protection, and that of the honourable board. He is fond of research, and of exploring this untracked country; his reports are faithful, and I have always found him a man of honour and integrity.”

In an introductory letter given him at the same time, by the Right Reverend Alexander Macdonell, catholic bishop of Up-

per Canada, to Sir George Murray, colonial secretary, it is stated that "Mr Mactaggart is, perhaps, the ablest practical engineer and geologist, and the properest person that has ever been in these provinces for exploring the natural productions and latent resources of the country."

With a character so high, but with a broken constitution, Mr. Mactaggart returned to London towards the end of the year 1828. On his arrival, his first care was to publish *Three years in Canada: an account of the actual state of the country in 1826-7-8, comprehending its resources, productions, improvements, and capabilities, and including sketches of the state of society, advice to emigrants, &c.* This work, which extends to two volumes, contains his official reports, and a great quantity of scientific details, relative to the department in which he was employed. It teems also with information regarding the state of society and natural history of these colonies. It is, however, devoid of that warm interest which a travelling journal, however ill written, would possess. It is a work of science and intelligence, and will be consulted with advantage in regard to the important colony to which it relates, long after a mere ordinary book of travels would have passed into oblivion.

He had not, since his arrival in England, visited his parents. His father had solicited him to return to see his mother, who seemed to be rapidly dying of consumption. He hastened home so soon as circumstances would permit. But he was too late to see his dying parent, as she was buried three days before his arrival.

On his return home, in June 1829, though he made no complaints as to want of health, it was evident to all that his constitution was much impaired. He grew worse as winter approached. In the month of December, though he had caught a severe cold, and was otherwise complaining, he insisted on going a few miles to visit a young friend, Mr. George Wishart, who had gone out to Canada to him, and who had recently returned, labouring under a pulmonary disease, which soon ended his days. He had not arrived above two or three

hours at the house of his friend, when he was attacked with the most violent pain in his head, which no medical aid could relieve. He lingered on for a fortnight, labouring under the most excruciating agony ; and on the morning of the 8th of January 1830, he was relieved from his suffering, and resigned his spirit into the hands of his Creator. His remains were repositied in the church-yard of Senwick ; a parish united to that of Borgue.

He was a person of stout figure, of great bodily strength, and majestic size, being six feet two inches in height. His hair was jet black ; his complexion red.

His character was enthusiastic, generous, disinterested. Of books he was very fond. His taste was not naturally good ; and he seems never to have exerted himself to cultivate or improve it. His friendships were warm and lasting. He hated duplicity or dishonour. He was regardless of the impression his opinions might make on others, provided they were the real convictions of his own heart.

Poetry was one of his earliest studies ; and many specimens of his compositions in this department may be found in his *Encyclopedia*. He left behind him a long unfinished poem in blank verse, entitled *The Engineer*, amounting to upwards of two thousand lines. This production, which, among other things, includes the history of science from the earliest period, is not devoid of poetic merit. But it is not in a fit state to meet the public eye. His *Three Years in Canada*, however, not to speak of his former work, will not allow his name soon to be forgotten.

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APPENDIX.

NOTE A—p. 1.

THE word GALLOWAY is comparatively of recent application. The district which it now designates was originally inhabited by the Selgovæ and Novantes. The former possessed that part of it which lies west of the Dee, while that on the east of the river was inhabited by the Selgovæ, whose boundaries included also part of Dumfries-shire. (Chalmers' *Caledonia*, i. 60, 61.) In the days of Bede, this province was not known by the name of Galloway; it then formed part of the Bernician or Northumbrian kingdom. (*Bede*, iv. 26.) The term Gallwegia is first applied to it in 1124, in a charter granted by Earl David, (afterwards David I.) to the Monks of Selkirk. (Sir James Dalrymple's *Collections*, 171.) It has, since that date, been known by a name of a slight shade of difference, Gallwegia, Gallweia, Gallwallia, Galway, Galdia, Galloway. Respecting the origin of this appellation, there have been various opinions: Nor can the point now be determined. Some have supposed that the district received its name from Galdus, king of Scots, who gained it from the Romans, and was killed in battle at Torhouse, near Wigton, where his tomb is still shown. (First ed. of this *History*, p. 330.) "It may merely," says Mr. Chalmers, on the contrary, "be Gallway and Gaelway, the bay of the Gael or Irish, the Anglo-Saxon *wæg* signifying *fluctus, unda, iter, via.*"—(*Caledonia*, i. 360.)

With regard to the extent of ancient Galloway, there have been conflicting conjectures. Without entering on this discussion, it need merely be mentioned, in the words of Mr. Chalmers, that, "as early indeed, if not earlier than the age of David I. the boundaries of Galloway were confined within the narrow limits which have been assigned to that Celtic region in modern times." In the present work, we use the term as comprehending Wigtonshire, and the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright.

NOTE B.—p. 1.

The Selgovæ and Novantes, who, on the arrival of the Romans, inhabited Galloway, were of Celtic origin, and not, as some have supposed, of Gothic descent. (*Caledonia*, i. *passim*.) Celtic tribes, though they spoke a common language, and in their general character were similar, were connected but by slight ties. Each tribe felt independent of the rest: and they united only when common danger threatened, or a common enemy invaded them. Such was the state of Galloway at the time when the Romans invaded Scotland.

This civilized and ingenious people penetrated into this province; but no Roman colony seems to have been established there; nor were the original inhabitants driven away. On the abdication of the Romans in 448, Galloway was overrun by the Anglo-Saxons of Northumbria; to whom it remained partially subject till the beginning of the ninth century. To this latter people, the Gallwegians, so far as we know, were under greater obligations than to the Romans. They introduced a rude species of architecture: they founded the burgh of Kirkcudbright; they revived, for a while, the bishoprick of St. Ninian at Candida Casa. The Gallwegians, owing to the extinction of the Northumbrian dynasty in 820, having gained their independence, fell a prey to the Picts; a race of men, whatever was their origin, that flourished and became eminent in Galloway, after their name had been forgotten in other districts. But notwithstanding of their successively falling under the dominion of various tribes, the original Celtic inhabitants of Galloway were never entirely displaced: their customs and habits continued to predominate; and remains of such may be traced even at this day. They were distinguished for daring heroism and intrepidity; insomuch that they obtained the appellation of The Wild Scots of Galloway, and were granted, by the Scottish kings, the privilege of forming the van in every battle at which they were present. Of their leaders or rulers we have, for a long time, but little account. Jacobus, "the ruler of Galloway," is mentioned as one of the eight reguli who met at Chester in 973. Ulrig and Dovenald, (M^dDowall) the leaders of the Gallwegians, acted a conspicuous part, with their followers, at the battle of the Standard in 1138, in which they were slain. But the first leader or lord of Galloway, as he is called, of whom we have a full account, was Fergus, of whose parentage nothing is known. He seems to have succeeded Ulrig and Dovenald. He at first professed obedience to the Scottish king; but he afterwards raised the standard of rebellion. In two attempts to reduce him, Malcolm IV. was repulsed; in the third he was successful. Fergus gave his son Uchtred as a hostage, and died in 1161, in the abbey of Holyrood.

He founded monasteries at Tongland, Whithorn, Saulseat, Dundrennan, and St. Mary's Isle.

By his wife, Elizabeth, illegitimate daughter of Henry I. of England, he left two sons, Uchtred and Gilbert, who, according to the Celtic law, divided the lands of their father between them. They rebelled against their king: they then quarrelled with each other; and Uchtred was slain by his brother. Uchtred had established a convent at Lincluden. On the death of Gilbert, in 1185, Roland, son of Uchtred, after defeating the adherents of his uncle, succeeded to the lordship of Galloway. Roland, having married Elena, daughter of Richard de Moreville, constable of Scotland, was invested with that high office, as the male line of that family failed. He founded a monastery at Glenluce. He had one son, Allan, the last of the ancient princes of Galloway. Allan, after leading a pacific life, died in 1234, leaving behind him three daughters. He had been thrice married: his second wife was Margaret, daughter of David, Earl of Huntingdon. His oldest daughter, Elena, was married to Roger de Quinci, earl of Winchester; Christian, married to William de Fortibus, son to the Earl of Albemarle; and Dervorgille, to John Baliol of Bernard Castle. The two last daughters were born to him by his second wife, the daughter of the Earl of Huntingdon. Dervorgille's marriage was productive of five children; a daughter married to John Cumyn of Badenoch, and four sons, one of whom, John Baliol, succeeded to the Scottish throne, as the descendant of David of Huntingdon. Dervorgille survived her husband; and founded Baliol college at Oxford, and monasteries at Newabbey or Sweetheart, Wigton, Dumfries and Dundee.

By the marriage of Allan's daughters, a new race of men with new customs and an unknown tongue, (for the language had previously been Celtic, which however continued to prevail in some districts of the province till within these two centuries,) were introduced among the Gaelic inhabitants of Galloway. Of this, commotion and discontent were at first the results; but it ultimately exercised a liberalizing and salutary influence on their character. The arts of peace began to be cultivated; civilization to prevail. The predominance of the ambitious and turbulent family of Douglas checked for a while the progress of knowledge and refinement. The first of the house of Douglas styled Lord of Galloway, obtained that title and dignity by his wife Dervorgille Cumyn, grand-daughter of Lady Dervorgille and John Baliol, the male line of the Baliol family having become extinct. The family of Douglas having been attainted for rebellion in 1453, their vast possessions were forfeited, and bestowed on more worthy and loyal barons. This was the dearest boon ever conferred on Galloway; which now laid aside turbulence and disloyalty, and began to cultivate the arts both of social and domestic life. (See note *B* in first edition of this

History, where the subjects introduced in this note are treated at considerable length.)

NOTE C—p. 8.

There is not a saint in the Romish calendar whose memory was more venerated, and whose tomb was oftener visited, than those of Ninian. In Galloway, until this day, his name is familiar as “household words,” even with the most illiterate of the people. A cave (on the sea coast, about two miles from Whithorn,) to which, amid the intervals of his holy labours, he occasionally retired, is still pointed out with veneration; and traditions respecting his supposed miracles and his holiness are told and cherished with a degree of credulity very uncommon. Several places and parishes both in England and Scotland bear his name. Crowds of pilgrims, for many ages, annually resorted to his shrine; even some of our Scottish monarchs have visited it. The queen of James III. undertook this pilgrimage in 1474. The following article is in the accounts of the treasurer of Scotland.—“Item, to Andro Balfour, 20th August 1474, for livery gowns to six ladies of the Queen’s chamber, at her passing to Quhytehorn, 21 ells of grey fra David Gill, price L.10, 10s. Scots.” In 1507, (at which period, according to Mackenzie, this piece of devotion was very common,) James IV. made the same pilgrimage *on foot* to pray for the health and recovery of his queen, who had been alarmingly ill in child-bed; to testify his resignation on the death of his two infant children; and to express his penitence for having rebelled against his father. The queen recovered; a result that was attributed to the miraculous influence of the saint; and when her health was re-established, she and her husband, as a matter of gratitude, performed the same pious journey in circumstances of great pomp and magnificence. Seventeen horses were employed in transporting the queen’s baggage; three in carrying the king’s, and one in carrying the “chapel geir.” James V. also paid visits to St. Ninian’s tomb; and pilgrimages continued to be made thither till 1581, when, the Reformation being accomplished, they were prohibited by act of parliament. (Mackenzie’s *Lives of Scottish Authors*, ii. 546. Weber’s *Battle of Flodden Field*, 153.)

NOTE D—p. 35.

*A Short Account of the Family of DE VAUX, VAUS, or VANS,
(Latine DE VALLIBUS), now of Barnbarroch.**

On the continent of Europe the De Vaux family have been dukes of Andrea, princes of Joinville, Taranto and Altamura, sovereign counts of Orange and Provence, and kings of Vienne, Arles, &c. &c. as well as Lords De Vaux in Normandy, (See Moreri, Ar. Baux, Vaux, &c. &c.)

Members of the Norman family accompanied the Conqueror to England in 1066, and there their descendants became Lords De Vaux of Pentney in Norfolk, of Gilsland in Cumberland, and Harrowden in Northamptonshire. (See Dugdale, Collins, Banks, &c. &c.)

Nisbet says (Ar. Vans of Barnbarroch,) that one of the English De Vauxes came to Scotland in the reign of David I. (1124 to 1153), and Sir James Dalrymple (App. Col. Scots Hist.) says, "About the reign of King Malcolm the Fourth, Willielmus de Vallibus is to be found." His descendants in the male line held the estates of Dirleton, Golyu, Fenton, &c. &c. in East Lothian until the reign of Robert the Second, when two daughters, co-heiresses, married into the families of Haliburton and Hepburn. The former became Lords Haliburton of Dirleton, and the latter are but too well known from their descendant (the Earl of Bothwell) unfortunately having become the husband of Queen Mary.

Our public records shew, that in 1174 John De Vaux was one of the fifteen barons given as hostages for the ransom of King William. (See Prynne's Rec. &c.) His grandson is mentioned as one of the magnates of Scotland in the Pope's ratification of the peace between England and Scotland in 1244. He was one of the barons who counselled, or rather forced Alexander the Third to change his ministers. (See Rymer's *Fœ.* Vol. 1. p. 669, and Redpath's *Border History*, p. 146.) John De Vaux, grandson of the preceding John, appears to have been the second husband of the illustrious Dervorgille, the widow of Baliol and mother of King John Baliol, whose claim to the crown came to him through her. This second marriage is not mentioned by Wyntoun or others; but the evidence of it is to be found in the Dryburgh Charter, where is given a charter by Alex. de Baliol of the wood of Gleddiswoode, "*Qui quondam fuit cum Domini Johannis de Wallibus, et*

* For this valuable document I am indebted to Henry Stewart Vans, Esq. advocate

Dna. Dervorgill, sponse sue." The words are repeated in the seisin which follows, and another charter is given of Roger de Quincy's relating to the same lands. Roger de Quincy's first wife was Helen, the elder, but half sister of Dervorgille; and his then wife was Alyenor, the widow of William De Vaux of Norfolk. (See Dugdale, &c. &c.) The original of the Dryburgh Charter is in the Advocates' Library. John De Vaux sat in the Parliament of Brigham in 1290. In 1291 he swore fealty at Berwick to Edward I. In 1298 he defended his castle of Dirleton against the famous Anthony Bek, Bishop of Durham. In 1304 he was a principal party to the agreement between Edward of England and "John Comyn and his aydents;" and according to Ryley's *Placeta Par.* folio 369, John Comyn, John de Graham, and John de Vaux, sealed this agreement at Strathord, 9th Feb. 33d Edward I.

Thomas succeeded to John, and is mentioned by Guthrie and Brady as being one of the sixty-five earls and lords who led the Scots army at the battle of Halidon hill. Thomas was killed in 1346 at the battle of Neville's Cross, near Durham, where his successor, William, was taken prisoner. After about a year's detention, William returned to Scotland, and his name appears in many of the transactions of the period. According to the *Fæd.* new edition, vol. iii. pp. 133, 146, 372, 6, 7, he was a party to the ransom of King David the Second, and to the truce concluded in 1357. These are but a few of the times that mention is made of the Dirleton family in our public documents, and they are also frequently mentioned in the chartularies of our religious houses, to which they appear to have been considerable benefactors.

In his account of the Dirleton family, Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 436, omits several generations, and in vol. iii. p. 396, talking of Wigtonshire, he makes a curious mistake, for he considers the Barnbarroch and Shenchan families as distinct, whereas they are the same. On the same page, however, he justly observes, "the name has been changed from Vaus to Vaus—a change peculiar to this shire." And although he does not dispute the Barnbarroch branch being descended from a younger son of the Dirleton family, he thinks Alexander Vaux, bishop of Galloway in 1426, was the first of his name in Wigtonshire.

Nisbet, vol. ii. App. p. 250, says positively, that the Barnbarroch branch are the only remaining heirs-male of the Dirleton family,—that they descended from a younger son, and although they have no charter older than 1451, yet "that the Vauses of this house have subsisted long before that." Nisbet also says that, "now since they represent the principal family, by the rules and maxims that are laid down in heraldry, they may strike out the mollet, the brotherly difference, and wear and carry the *bend-simple*, as they have done for some centuries." Tradition says the same, and that the first Vaux in Wigtonshire married an heiress there.

In "l'Histoire des Matheures de la France, sous le Roi Jean," published at Paris, chez Barde, 1611, vol. ii. p. 163, it is said, talking of the battle of Poitiers, (A. D. 1356,) and of the Scots of note who fell there, "et André Vaus de Galloyay, le frere d'armes du Seigneur Archimbald," (Douglas).

Barnes, Hollingshed, Abercrombie, and others, mention Sir Andrew Vaux to have been killed at the battle of Poitiers, and this Andrew is believed to have been the younger brother of Willielmus of Dirleton, to have settled in Galloway, and to have been succeeded by another Sir Andrew, whose name appears in the settlement of the Scots crown made at Scone, 4th April 1373, although in Robertson's Records the name is erroneously given Andreas de Valoniis. His younger son was Alexander, bishop of Galloway from 1426 to 1451, and he was succeeded by his eldest son

John, who married E. Kennedy, and was sent along with Alexander dominus de Gordon, Alexander dominus de Montgonery, and Johannis Methven, Clericus, as ambassadors from James II. of Scotland to Henry VI. of England. Along with these persons also, he concluded a truce with England in 1438; see Ridpath's Border History, p. 404. His younger sons were Ninian, who is believed to have been bishop of Galloway, and Martin, who was confessor to James III., and ambassador to Denmark in 1468.

Robert succeeded his father John, and married lady Euphemia Graham of the house of Menteith; he received the charter of 1451, and his younger son was Thomas, ambassador to England, (Fied. vol. ii. p. 398,) dean of Glasgow, and secretary to the king. Robert was succeeded by his eldest son.

Blaize, who married Elizabeth, daughter and heiress of Sir John Shaw of Haillie. They had a younger son, George bishop of Galloway.

Patrick, their eldest son, succeeded, and married Margaret, daughter of Gilbert, second lord Kennedy, by Elizabeth, daughter of Alexander lord Montgomery.

Sir John, their son, succeeded, and married Janet, daughter and heiress of Sir Simon McCulloch of Merton, by Marion, daughter of Gordon of Lochinvar. Their son

Alexander, succeeded, and married, 1st, lady Janet, daughter of David, first earl of Cassillis by Agnes, daughter of William lord Borthwick. 2dly, Euphemia, daughter and co-heiress of Sir John Dunbar of Mochrum, by Elizabeth, daughter of Mungo Muir of Rowallan; having no issue male, he was succeeded by his brother

Sir Patrick, who married, 1st, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Hugh Kennedy of Girvan-mains, by lady Janet Stewart, daughter of the second earl of Athol. 2dly, Lady Katherine, daughter of Gilbert, third earl of Cassillis, by Margaret, daughter of Kennedy of Bargeny. Sir

Patrick was of the privy counsel, an ambassador, and a judge; and having no sons by his first marriage, was succeeded by Sir John, his son by the second marriage, who was of the privy council, and had to wife Margaret, daughter of Uchtred M'Dowal of Garthland, by Margaret, daughter of Stewart, first lord Methven. Their son

Sir Patrick succeeded, and married Grissel, widow of Sir Robert Maxwell of Spotts and Orchardtown, and daughter of Johnston of Annandale, by Margaret, daughter of Sir W. Scot of Buccleugh.

John, their eldest son, dissipated the greater part of the estate, and having no issue male by his wife Grissel, daughter of Sir John M'Culloch of Merton, was succeeded by his brother

Alexander, who married Margaret, daughter of Sir William Maxwell of Monreith, by Agnes, daughter of Sir John M'Culloch of Merton. Their son

Patrick succeeded, and married, 1st. _____, daughter of Sir James Campbell of Lawers, by whom he had a son, who died without issue; and 2dly, Barbara, daughter of Patrick M'Dowal of Freugh, by _____, daughter of Haltridge of Dromore, in Ireland; the son of this second marriage,

John, succeeded, and married Margaret, only child of Robert Agnew of Sheuchan, by Margaret, another daughter of Patrick M'Dowal of Freugh; and a mutual entail having been executed, the name and arms of Agnew of Sheuchan were added to those of Vans of Barnbarroch.

Robert succeeded his father John, and married Frances, daughter of John Dunlop of that ilk, by Frances, only surviving child of Sir Thomas Wallace of Craigie, Bart. Their son,

John, succeeded, and having died unmarried, he was followed by Patrick,—now living.

The arms of Vans of Barnbarroch are: Ar. a Bend Gules. See Sir David Lindsay of the Mount's work, p. 59. "Wauss Lord Dyrilton of Auld" Crest, a lion rampant holding scales in the dexter paw. Motto, "Be faithful." Supporters, two savages with clubs in their hands, and wreathed about the middle with laurel. See Nisbet, vol. i. p. 92, and vol. ii. p. 252.

The Barnbarroch family, also, represent the M'Cullochs of Merton, and the Shaws of Haillie, as well as the Agnews of Sheuchan: and therefore may quarter their arms.

NOTE E—p. 168.

LETTER FROM THE LATE JOHN MAXWELL, ESQ. OF MUNCHES, TO W. M. HERRIES, ESQ. OF SPOTTES.

Munches, Feb. 8, 1811.

DEAR SIR,

The last time that Mr. Young of Youngfield was here, he signified to me, as you had previously done, that John Christian Curwen of Workington Hall, Esq. had mentioned that he was very desirous to know the state of agriculture in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and in Nithsdale, as far back as my remembrance goes.

I was born at Buittle, in this parish, which in old times was the fortress and residence of John Baliol, on the 7th day of February, old style, 1720, and do distinctly remember several circumstances that happened in the year 1723 and 1724. Of these particulars, the falling of the bridge of Buittle, which was built by John Frew, in 1722, and fell in the succeeding summer, while I was in Buittle garden, seeing my father's servants gathering nettles. That same year, many of the proprietors enclosed their grounds, to stock them with black cattle; and, by that means, turned out a vast number of tenants at the term of Whitsunday 1723, whereby numbers of them became destitute, and, in consequence, rose in a mob, when, with pitchforks, gavellocks, and spades, they levelled the park-dikes of Barneilzie and Munches at Dalbeaty, which I saw with my own eyes; the mob passed by Dalbeaty and Buittle, and did the same on the estates of Netherlaw, Dunderod, &c.; and the Laird of Murdoch, then proprietor of Kilwhaneday, who turned out sixteen families at that term. The proprietors rose with their servants and dependents, to quell this mob, but were not of sufficient force to do it, and were obliged to send for two troops of dragoons from Edinburgh, who, upon their appearing, the mob dispersed. After that, warrants were granted for apprehending many of the tenants and persons concerned in the said mob; several of them were tried, those who had any funds were fined, some were banished to the plantations, whilst others were imprisoned; and it brought great distress upon this part of the country. At that period, justice was not very properly administered; for, a respectable man, of the name of McClacherty, who lived in Balmaghie parish, was concerned in the mob, and, on his being brought to trial, one of the justices admired a handsome Galloway which he rode, and the justice told him, if he would give him the Galloway, he would effect his acquittal, which he accordingly did. This misfortune, with what happened the Mississippi Company, in the year 1720, did most generally distress this quarter of the

kingdom. It is not pleasant to represent the wretched state of individuals as times then went in Scotland. The tenants, in general, lived very meanly on kail, groats, milk, grass ground in querns, turned by the hand, and the grain dried in a pot, together with a crock ewe now and then about Martinmas. They were clothed very plainly, and their habitations were most uncomfortable. Their general wear was of cloth, made of waulked plaiding, black and white wool mixed, very coarse, and the cloth rarely dyed. Their hose were made of white plaiding cloth, sewed together, with single soled shoes, and a black or blue bonnet, none having hats but the lairds,—who thought themselves very well dressed for going to church on Sunday with a black kelt-coat of their wife's making. It is not proper for me here to narrate the distresses and poverty that were felt in the country during these times, which continued till about the year 1735. In 1725 potatoes were first introduced into this stewartry, by William Hyland, from Ireland, who carried them on horses' backs to Edinburgh, where he sold them by pounds and ounces. During these times, when potatoes were not generally raised in the country, there was for the most part a great scarcity of food, bordering on famine; for, in the stewartry of Kirkcudbright, and county of Dumfries, there was not as much victual produced as was necessary for supplying the inhabitants; and the chief part of what was required for that purpose, was brought from the Sandbeds of Esk, in tumbling cars, on the Wednesdays, to Dumfries; and when the waters were high by reason of spates, and there being no bridges, so that these cars could not come with the meal, I have seen the tradesmen's wives in the streets of Dumfries, crying, because there was none to be got. At that period, there was only one baker in Dumfries, and he made bawbee baps of coarse flour, chiefly bran, which he occasionally carried in creels to the fairs of Urr and Kirkpatrick. The produce of the country, in general, was grey corn; and you might have travelled from Dumfries to Kirkcudbright, which is twenty-seven miles, without seeing any other grain, except in a gentleman's croft, which, in general, produced bear or big, for one-third part, another third in white oats, and the remaining third in grey oats. At that period, there was no wheat raised in the country; what was used was brought from Teviot; and it was believed, that the soil would not produce wheat. In the year 1735, there was no mill for grinding that sort of grain, and the first flour mill that was constructed within these bounds, was built by old Heron, at Clouden, in the parish of Irongray, some years after that date.

In these times, cattle were also very low. I remember of being present at the Bridge-end of Dumfries, in 1736, when Anthony M'Kie, of Netherlaw, sold five score of five-year-old Galloway cattle, in good condition, to an Englishman, at L.2, 12s. 6d. each; and old Robert Halliday, who was tenant of a great part of the Preston estate, told me,

that he reckoned he could graze his cattle on his farms for 2s. 6d. a-head; that is to say, that his rent corresponded to that sum.

At this period, few of the proprietors gave themselves any concern about the articles of husbandry, their chief one being about black cattle. William Craik, Esq. of Arbigland's father, died in 1735, and his son was a man of uncommon accomplishments, who, in his younger days, employed his time in grazing of cattle, and studying the shapes of the best kinds, his father having given him the farm of Maxwelltowne to live upon. The estate of Arbigland was then in its natural state, very much covered with whins and broom, and yielding little rent, being only about 3000 merks a-year. That young gentleman was among the first that undertook to improve the soil; and the practice of husbandry which he pursued, together with the care and trouble he took in ameliorating his farm, was very great. Some of it he brought to such perfection, by clearing off all weeds and stones, and pulverised it so completely, that I, on walking over the surface, sunk, as if I had trodden on new fallen snow.

The estate of Arbigland was bought by his grandfather, in 1722, from the Earl of Southesk, for 22,000 merks.

In 1735, there were only two carts for hire in the town of Dumfries, and one belonging to a private gentleman.

About the years 1737 and 1738, there was almost no lime used for building in Dumfries, except a little shell-lime, made of cockle-shells, burned at Colvend, and brought to Dumfries in bags, a distance of twenty miles; and, in 1740, when provost Bell built his house, the under storey was built with clay, and the upper storeys with lime, brought from Whitehaven, in dry-ware casks. There was then no lime used for improving the land. In 1749, I had day-labourers at 6d. per day, and the best masons, at 1s. This was at the building of Mol-lance House, the walls of which cost L.49 sterling.

If you think that any thing mentioned here can be of any use or entertainment to Mr. Curwen, I give you full leave to make the same known, with my best respects; and, I am,

Dear Sir,

Your's sincerely,

JOHN MAXWELL.

To W. M. Herries, Esq. of Spottes.

NOTE G—p. 226.

The following is a copy of the letter addressed by Heron, three months before his death, to "The Literary Fund:"

"Ever since I was eleven years of age, I have mingled with my studies the labour of teaching, or of writing, to support and educate myself.

"During about twenty years, while I was in constant or occasional attendance at the University of Edinburgh, I taught and assisted young persons, at all periods, in the course of education, from the alphabet to the highest branches of science and literature.

"I read Lectures on the Law of Nature, the Law of Nations, the Jewish, the Grecian, the Roman, and the Canon Law, and then on the Fendal Law; and on the several forms of Municipal Jurisprudence established in modern Europe. I printed a syllabus of these lectures, which was approved. They were intended as introductory to the professional study of law, and to assist gentlemen who did not study it professionally, in the understanding of history.

"I translated Fourcroy's Chemistry twice, from both the second and third editions of the original; Fourcroy's Philosophy of Chemistry; Savary's Travels in Greece; Dumourier's Letters; Gesner's Idylls in part; an abstract of Zimmerman on Solitude; and a great diversity of smaller pieces.

"I wrote a Journey through the Western parts of Scotland, which has past through two editions; a History of Scotland, in six volumes, 8vo.; a Topographical Account of Scotland, which has been several times reprinted; a number of communications in the Edinburgh Magazine; many Prefaces and Critiques; a Memoir of the Life of Burns the Poet, which suggested and promoted the subscription for his family—has been many times reprinted, and formed the basis of Dr. Currie's life of him, as I learned by a letter from the Doctor to one of his friends; a variety of *jeux d'esprit*, in verse and prose; and many abridgments of large works.

"In the beginning of 1799, I was encouraged to come to London. Here I have written a great multiplicity of articles in almost every branch of science and literature, my education in Edinburgh having comprehended them all. The London Review, the Agricultural Magazine, the Anti-Jacobin Review, the Monthly Magazine, the Universal Magazine, the Public Characters, the Annual Necrology, with several other periodical works, contain many of my communications. In such of those publications as have been reviewed, I can show, that my anonymous pieces have been distinguished with very high praise. I

have written also a short system of Chemistry, in one volume 8vo. ; and I published, a few weeks since, a small work called " Comforts of Life," of which the first edition was sold in one week, and the second edition is now in rapid sale.

" In the newspapers—the Oracle, the Porcupine when it existed, the General Evening Post, the Morning Post, the British Press, the Courier, &c. I have published many reports of debates in Parliament ; and, I believe, a greater variety of light fugitive pieces, than I know to have been written by any one other person.

" I have written also a variety of compositions in the Latin and French languages, in favour of which I have been honoured with the testimonies of liberal approbation.

" I have invariably written to serve the cause of religion, morality, pious Christian education, and good order, in the most direct manner. I have considered what I have written as mere trifles ; and have incessantly studied to qualify myself for something better. I can prove that I have, for many years, read and written, one day with the other, from twelve to sixteen hours a-day. As a human being, I have not been free from follies and errors. But the tenor of my life has been temperate, laborious, humble, quiet, and, to the utmost of my power, beneficent. I can prove the general tenor of my writings to have been candid, and ever adapted to exhibit the most favourable views of the abilities, dispositions, and exertions of others.

" For these last ten months, I have been brought to the very extremity of bodily and pecuniary distress.

" I shudder at the thoughts of perishing in a gaol.

92, CHANCERY LANE, }
Feb. 2, 1807. }

(In confinement.)

NOTE H—p. 254.

William Muirhead Herries of Spottes, oldest son of the Rev. Dr. James Muirhead of Logan, was a most respectable and accomplished man. He was a member of the Scots bar ; and had he cultivated professional employment, must have risen to eminence in that capacity. In politics he was a steady and consistent Whig, and was regarded as the head of that party in his native county. In private life he was distinguished for wit, great colloquial powers, and goodness of heart. He is scarcely known as an author. In April 1810 he read an Essay before the Stewartry Agricultural Society, *On the Connexion of Agriculture with the Political Interests of Great Britain*. In 1809

he published an *Address to the Landholders and Farmers of the Stewartry of Kirkcubright, delivered at their meeting, called by public advertisement, for the purpose of considering the grievances sustained by the Agricultural Interests of that County from the present mode of Assessing the Tax on Property.* Residing at Spottes, in the parish of Urr, he continued to be Dr. Murray's kindest friend till his death. His health having never been vigorous, he died unmarried, at middle age, in April 1822. His brother Charles, who, had he survived him, would have succeeded as proprietor of Spottes, died a few days before him. The next heir of entail to this property was Mr. William Young, only son of Alexander Young of Harburn, W. S., who, on his accession to the estate, assumed the name of Herries. Michael Herries of Spottes, having lost his only son, and having no other relations, entailed his two properties, Greskine in Annandale, and Spottes in Galloway; the former on Sir Robert Herries, father to the present Right Hon. John Charles Herries,—the latter on the two oldest sons of Dr. Muirhead successively, and, failing them, on Mr. W. Young, the son of his distant relation, and legal agent and adviser, Mr. Young of Harburn.

Mr. Young Herries of Spottes, (I cannot resist this opportunity of stating), is descended of a family, (the Youngs of Auchenskeoch,) that had for several generations been settled in Galloway. The house of Auchenskeoch was sprung from that of Leny in Linlithgowshire; which latter family, as well as that of Auldbar, claimed descent from the famous Sir Peter Young of Seton, sub-preceptor to James VI., and afterwards ambassador on the part of his majesty at foreign courts. The last of the family who held the estate of Auchenskeoch, (which was sold after the middle of last century), was Sir William Young, governor of Dominica; whose son,—the late Mr. Alexander Young, was deputy-commissary for the Island of Mauritius.

Mr. Herries's grandfather and great-grandfather,—the latter descended of the house of Auchenskeoch, were successively ministers of the united parishes of Corrie and Hutton, in Annandale. They were both eminent for worth and learning. The former, the Rev. George Young, married Sophia, daughter of the Rev. William Mein, minister of Westerkirk. The latter, the Rev. William Young, married Agnes, daughter of the Rev. Alexander Orr of Haselside, minister of Hoddon, by Agnes, daughter of John Dalrymple of Waterside, the representative of a very old family, to whose estate Mrs. Orr succeeded, along with her two younger sisters, Mrs. Murray of Murraythwaite, and Mrs. Maxwell of Cowhill. Miss Copland of Collieston (whose mother was Agnes Hairstones of Craigs), married to John Dalrymple of Waterside, was cousin-german to Elizabeth Hairstones of Craigs, who became the wife of William Maxwell of Preston. Mr. and Mrs. Maxwell had two daughters; the oldest married to William, Earl of Sutherland (the only

child of which marriage is now Countess of Sutherland and Marchioness of Stafford);—the youngest to Lord Glenorchy, and was the founder of the church in Edinburgh that bears her name.

The Rev. William Young, who died in 1761, had three children, George, who predeceased his father; Agnes, married to the late Dr. Hardy, professor of Church History in the University of Edinburgh; and Alexander Young of Harburn, father of Mr. Young Herries of Spottes.

NOTE I—p. 290.

Of Sir Murray Maxwell, Knt. and C. B. I meant to give a full account. But I find his history so important, and his merits so great, that I cannot think of undertaking the task in this place. A few notices only can be given. He early entered the naval service. He was engaged in many brilliant actions, in various quarters of the world,—in all of which he distinguished himself by that enterprise and decision which marked his character. In 1815, when Lord Amherst was sent as Ambassador to China, Captain Maxwell was appointed to the *Alceste*, which was ordered to convey his Excellency to that court.

“The *Alceste* sailed from Spithead 9th February 1816. The details of the voyage to China; the visit to the Loo Choo Islands, with the aid afforded to science by her discoveries in the Yellow Sea and coast of the Corea; the subsequent loss of the *Alceste* on the 18th February 1817, by striking on a sunken rock, about three miles from Pulo Leat, in the Straits of Gaspar; the sufferings of the ambassador, officers, and crew, have been so fully detailed by Capt. Basil Hall, who commanded the *Lyra* sloop, the consort of the *Alceste*, and which that scientific and excellent officer dedicated to Capt. Maxwell, as to render a repetition unnecessary. Mr. McLeod, the surgeon of the *Alceste*, also published a most interesting narrative of the circumstances. The lustre of Capt. Maxwell’s character received even an additional brilliancy from this misfortune; for, to adopt the language of the Court Martial by which he was subsequently tried, ‘his coolness, self-collectedness, and exertions were highly conspicuous, and every thing was done by him and his officers within the power of man to execute.’

“The Chinese will never forget the chastisement they received when the *Alceste* forced through the Bocca Tigris, or Canton river, to receive Lord Amherst on his return from Peking. The officers and crew were all animated with a similar feeling to that of their heroic Captain, and it is said that on one of the quarter-deck 32-pound shot, some of the young gentlemen had written in chalk, ‘Tribute from the King

of England to the Chinese, and which was actually fired against their flotilla of eighteen war junks, after which their batteries were silenced by a broadside. Captain Maxwell fired the first gun, thus rendering himself personally amenable to the consequences of the attack, as it is well known that the Chinese attach responsibility to the individual whose hand was immediately employed in the discharge."—*United Service Journal for August 1831.*

Captain Maxwell, on his return, had an interview with Bonaparte at St. Helena. In 1815, he had been nominated a Companion of the Bath: in 1818 he was honoured with knighthood. In the latter year he stood a candidate for Westminster. During the contest, which was of unexampled violence, an attack was made by the mob on his life. Though he polled 4800 votes, he was unsuccessful. The expenses he incurred on this occasion crippled his pecuniary resources during the rest of his life. As a reward for his service, the East India Company, in 1819, presented him with L.1500. He again entered on active service; and was present at the surrender of Callao. After the accession of his present majesty, William IV., he was nominated one of his naval aide-de-camps; and during the present year (1831) appointed Governor of Prince Edward's Island. On this appointment, he left Scotland in a sailing-vessel for London; but being seized with fever on the voyage, and no medical aid being on board, he died on the 19th of June, soon after his arrival in London; and left behind him a name for professional merit, and general honour and integrity of character, inferior to none. Lady Maxwell survives him. One of his sons is a commander in the Royal Navy.

Captain Keith Maxwell, another brother, recently dead, also distinguished himself in the naval service. He served under Commodore Owen on the coast of France. He afterwards commanded the Nyphen frigate in the North Sea, and formed one of the expedition to the Scheldt: But he had previously signalized himself, in 1801, by performing one of the most daring acts that occur in our naval annals, namely, cutting out the Cheverette from Camerel's Bay. (*James's Naval History*, iii. 214.) Captain John Maxwell (mentioned in the *Life of Major Maxwell*) died in 1826, while commanding the *Aurora* frigate.

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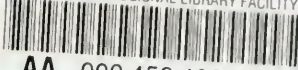
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